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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 19TH APRIL 1913.

No. 16 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

The Meerut shooting case.

2. In commenting on the judgment in the case of King Emperor vs Joseph Thomas Hodgins by the First-class Magistrate of Meerut, the Indian Patriot, of the 18th April, remarks:--"It would have been better had the soldier who shot dead the Jain Bairagi never been put before a court of justice, so that the world might have been kept ignorant of the relations between the European magistracy and European crime in India. Occasionally, when the cup of Indian satisfaction is full to the brim, when we call the Government 'our Government' and retire home intoxicated with happiness, the breeze of racial prejudice stirs up the dying embers. The Meerut judgment is one such breeze. It is a most unconvincing judgment; as the Patrika would call it, it is built upon the foundation of 'probably, possibly, believe and may have;' these pulled out, the whole structure falls to the ground ....The story is of a party of soldiers shooting [illegible] village Bairagi, of the Bairagi running [illegible]s, of the Bairagi being shot dead by the

Magistrate says that Krishna Dass was 'clearly mad at the time--possibly with 'bhang,' probably with the anti-British animus which characterizes his class, and certainly, with anger at the injury done to his own property and at the idea 'Shikar' of any sort. Here the Magistrate shows his cloven foot; he refers to the 'anti-British animus' of a class, almost exemplifying the 'anti-Native' animus of several Magistrates when Europeans are charged with killing natives.................However, in the end, the Meerut Magistrate finds that there was justification to shoot Krishna Dass. 'The accused does not appear to be particularly intelligent, but I think we must hold that he did the best in his power to save himself and his friend'. The Bairagi armed with 'Chimpta' rushing along, was to the Magistrate a formidable affair. The Magistrate describes the 'Chimpta' as an instrument 'one blow of which might easily cause grievous hurt'. It may be, but the Chimpta is a piece of thinly wrought iron--barely an inch wide and two to three feet long, folded into a V shape--the whole thing seldom weighing more than a pound. It is used to pick up the burning charcoal from a hearth or fire place. What strikes the average intelligent reader is that the only justification for the soldier to shoot was that he was afraid, that he was not intelligent, and that he had a loaded double-barrelled gun. That is the long and short of it. The whole trend of the Magistrate's judgment, built upon 'believe, and possibly and probably and may have' is to find justification for the shooting. It is a disgrace on British chivalry that the soldier should not have bowed [illegible]

on forbidden ground, that they ought not to shoot game there; having shot, they took disgracefully to heels, turning back only to shoot down an unarmed man".

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald on the Public Services Commission.

12. Referring to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's remarks on the Public Services Commission in the (Leicester) Pioneer, the Indian Patriot, of the 17th April, says:-"The large heart of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has opened to an anxious public that has been following the proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. He has spoken out a bit of his mind to India, and we have to thank the Anglo-Indian papers of the kind of Pioneer and the Civil and Military Gazette for the satisfaction of hearing, amidst the discouraging clouds of the Commission's evidence, the very hopeful message of his powerful stand for the cause of India which, it is but just to acknowledge, India had always counted..........In Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's words the larger employment of Indians in positions of trust and responsibility, is no longer a question of whether they should or should not be appointed, but how provision is to be made for such appointments; it is not the principle that is under discussion, but the details............What Mr. Macdonald has said will go a long way to strengthen the faith of Indians in the greatness of England. To such occasional outburst of the great English mind--the mind that the reader of English history associates with the building up of the British Empire--do Indians owe much of the [illegible] their minds. [illegible]

saying that no more Indians should be appointed to the higher service, arrest the progress of the British spirit in the Indians or the Briton who comes to us from old England. It is very fortunate that the private speech of Mr. Macdonald has been published, for no speech could have been published to serve a better public purpose more usefully than this speech. Indians had begun to look askance at the progress of the Royal Commission. It had begun to be freely given out that after all nothing would come out of the Commission. It was even feared whether the result of the Commission would not be to increase the salary of the civilians in the hope of attracting better men into the service. Instead of hope, therefore, we had fear............It is impossible that any other view should be taken by the Royal Commission that what has been taken by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. In the face of the pledges of the Sovereigns of England and of the British Parliament, which institutions every Englishman is expected to reverse, it is absolutely impossible to think of any other idea prevailing in the minds of the really British-spirited Royal Commissioner. India not only wants that provision should be made for the larger employment of Indians in the service but that the provision should be absolutely fair to the children of the soil. It was not to hear the personal opinion of the Tom, Dick and Harry of the Indian Civil Service that His Majesty the King sent out his Commission; it was to see the turbulently just aspirations of the children who call him King, who cherish with reverence t

13. Referring to the public meeting held in Calcutta, recently, to discuss this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 19th April, writes:--"A great public meeting was held at Calcutta yesterday when Dr. Rash Behari Gosh formulated a scheme of separation of the judicial and executive functions in India. That question has been taken up year after year and by public men after public men, but as yet no advance has been made. When Sir Harvey Adamson gave what was construed by educated Indians as a pledge to take up the question in all seriousness, it was thought that some real advancement was made, but the attitude of the Government, more than the expressed words, when Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee moved his resolution on the separation of the judicial and the executive functions, gave a shock to the hope cherished on account of Sir Harvey's promise. The public meeting at Calcutta is, therefore, a demand to Government to redeem a pledge given not long ago................It is no wonder that great was the shock given to educated India at the meeting of the Viceroy's Council when the Government said that they had no intentions to redeem the pledge given on their behalf by Sir Harvey. The Calcutta meeting is the first popular expression after the stunning effects of that shock. It took several years agitation to force the Government to the suggestion that came from Sir Harvey, and to be told that the Government had slid back to the time before the Indian National Congress was something that could not get into the public ear without a fearful jar............ The secret of the opposition, at least the only explainable opposition to this very necessary proposal, is the dread

The separation of the Judicial and Executive functions

[t]he precautions and the procedure of the judiciary. [T]he fear, then, about the introduction of this change that India has been calling aloud for years, in the name of justice and civilization, is the same narrow fear that precludes the fulfilment of the Royal pledges to employ Indians in the service without distinction of colour and creed. In other words, all the nonsense that has been said before the Public Services Commission about the larger employment of Indians in the service applies to the separation of the judicial and the executive functions. The safety of the British Government in India would be jeoparadized, crime would increase and everything valuable built in this land with years of British rule, would vanish. If the Government would say so then we can understand; never otherwise".

The Public Services Commission.

14. In commenting on Sir Louis Dane's evidence before this Commission, the Indian Patriot, of the 19th April, says:--"The original idea of threatening the Royal Commissioners dawned only on the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. We do not know whether Sir Louis Dane gave evidence before or after the famous speech of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. If the Dane evidence came after that speech, it is more understandable, for them he may be said to have an excuse in partly letting the foolishly enthusiastic Commissioners see some glimpse into official India which is in the keeping of men like himself and into which the Commissioners seriously propose to let in Indians. After the assurance given by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Indians can afford to ignore the ludicrous statement, prophesying all kinds of calamities if Indians are more largely a[...]

unrestrictedly employed in the service of their Government. Indeed, we have always held the view that to give undue prominenee to the nonsense, dripping with racial feeling, coming from certain witnesses is to picture an India less earnest than she really is............When European witnesses say that Indians are worthless, that they cannot be trusted, that examination papers will lead out, that simultaneous examinations are impossible because London and Indian time do not coincide, that the Burman hates the Indian, that Europeans hate the Indian, they are only condemning themselves. They are confirming what we have always cried out namely, that they are the real enemies to the fulfilment of the Sovereign's pledges. They are behaving before the Royal presence, overflowing with the light of benignance for India and Indians, in a manner that must convince the King how helpless his loyal Indian subjects are in the hands of these witnesses, how choking the atmosphere to Indian aspirations stirred by education which, His Majesty said, was dear to his heart. It is, however, quite different when the European witness that gives evidence is Sir Louis Dane, ~~Liete~~ Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; it is also different when, interpersed with his childish nonsense, from the jatka halal question down to examination papers leaking out and examiners oppressed by friends of candidates, we find serious statements..........All put together it means that Indians cannot be trusted, that Indians will always be discontented.

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"This is a very serious statement. We do not know whether Sir Louis Dane has realised what he said, or whether the Royal Commissioners have realised the significance of the threat. Here is a bomb placed in public view by the hand of Sir Louis Dane. If it burst, what will the result be? But this is not the only bombo The Sikh army is not the only source of discontent. Sir Louis Dane, who represents in himself the Government of Punjab, is the representative of King George, has told a Muhammadan population to the face that, the 'reverses sustained by a nation professing the Moslem faith in the wars in Tripoli and in the Balkan Peninsula and the state of affairs in Persia have excited the Muhammadans of India to an almost inconceivable extent. More than half the population of the Punjab is Muhammadan by religion, and numbers of the lower classes are subject to fanatical impulses which require but little fanning by unscruoulous panic-mongers to burst into flame'. Here is a deliberate expressing of suspicion of Moslem loyalty by a Provincial ruler who has also cast shadows of suspicion on the loyalty of the Sikhs............We must ask whether any plot has been discovered which aims at the Punjab being proclaimed indpependent of British India, or whether doctors could testify that Sir Louis Dane was struck with temporary aberration by the advent of the Royal Commission on Public Services. There is an urgent necessity for a presa communique, for the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Muhammadans of the Punjab, who constitute more than half the pp population of the Punjab, stand condemned by the mouth of their ruler, to them the representative of the King of England and Emperor of India".

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16. In an article under the heading "Mockery of British Citizenship", the Indian Patriot, of the 15th April

Indian marriages in South Africa.

says:--"We ask, and whole India asks, whether the Government of India have done anything in the face of a barbarous atrocity that has been perpetrated in South Africa, where the Indian subject of His Majesty King George V is asked to leave his wedded wife on the steamer and to go ashore alone, because she is not a wife within the meaning of the Immigration Act. As it is, the wife is compulsorily torn away, so also are the children torn away from the father. A recent judgment in the South African Court has made it perfectly clear that every Hindu and Muhammadan wife is in South Africa illegally, and, therefore, at the mercy of the Government, whose grace alone can enable her to remain in that country...........To those who expected the dawning of the millenium in the visit of Mr. Gokhale and the remarkable consideration of the Botha Government, this is a new and a rude awakening of the spirit that pervades the 'atmosphere'. The wife is torn from the husband, the children from the father, and still the wail is heard with indifference by our Government. The splendid courage of the passive resister will once more brighten the pages of history from the South African Indian who would not, could not look with complacency on the weeping wife and children on the ship when the father marches out to work and earn............ No wonder the appeal has gone forth like lightning though the serried ranks of the passive resisters that this is 'a serious question for passive resisters to consider whether they ought not to include in their requirements a redress of this unthought-of, but intolerable grievance. Any way, it is a question which demands, on the part of the

Indians, sacrifice of their all---their business, their money, their ease--which will have been dearly bought at the price of the nullity of their or their brethren's marriages. No consideration should be allowed to come in the way of their taking prompt and energetic action'. Indians in South Africa, the veterans of hundreds of brave fights, will rally round and do their duty well. They need not be taught or appealed to. It comes as natural to them to smell danger and to protect themselves as to a mother to protect her babe............. The public would like to know whether Lord Hardinge has protested against this to Lord Crewe. The public ought to know, and it would be a strange lack of imagination indeed if the Government should not make the public aware of its attitude in a matter that exercises popular attention from end to end of India. Here is an opportunity to whip up the earnest attachment of the population that would rally round the standard of Lord Hardinge's Government. The Muhammadan, who is most affected by the new Transvaal law separating husband and wife, will have particularly most reasons to be grateful. It is the ignorant Muhammadan that goes with a heavy heart over the downfall of Turkey, and a paternal Government, if it could not do anything, could show that it feels for them. One way to show it is by placing an emphatic protest against such barbarous enactments against Indian subjects of the British Empire".

(k) General.

The curious proposal of the Bombay Government for appointments to the public service.

27. Adverting to the proposal made by the Bombay Government in its written evidence submitted to the Public Services Commission, advocating a system of scholarships for sending Indian students to England

for the purpose of qualifying themselves to enter the Indian Civil Service, the Swadesamitran, of the 12th April, observes:--Since we last wrote on this subject, certain details regarding the system of scholarships have appeared in the Bombay journals. On a perusal of these details, we wonder how such an intelligent and highly placed officer as Lord Sydenham could venture to make this suggestion. According to this suggestion, Indian students who wish to enter the Civil Service have to live in foreign families for a period of ten years from the age of foruteen for their education. It is only those Indians who, by their living in such families, lose all their Indian characteristics and are dominated by a foreign spirit, that may come out as our Collectors, Judges and Members of Council. The Indians who are thus brought up in foreign families for ten years during their youth, will virtually live like foreigners throughout their lifetime. It is complained that even those, who have spent four or five years in England, return denationalized and adopt the English way of living, but we have the hope that, as the number of men returning from foreign countries increases, their outlandish ways and manners will, in course of time, be forgotten. The suggestion of Lord Sydenham is, however thoroughly opposed to this hope. Though it is perfectly just and very necessary that the Indian young men should enter the higher grades of executive service in India, it is even more just and necessary that, instead of getting denationalized and living as foreigners in the midst of their countrymen, they should join them and live amongst them in a spirit of brotherhood and love . As the Indian Social Reformer of Bombay remarks sarcastically, why should the Indian youths spend even the first fourteen years of their life in India?

The Government may as well send to England on a system of scholarships a certain number of pregnant women from talented Indian families and the children born of them there may be brought up and trained from their cradle to the Civil Service Examination, so that those young men may assimilate the English character thoroughly and maintain the integrity of the British rule in India.

The Public Services Commission.

30. In commenting on the evidence given before the Public Services Commission by Mr. T.C. Piggot, I.C.S., Judicial Commissioner, Oudh, and Mr. Gurubaksh Singh Bedi, a Sikh gentleman, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th April, writes:--Though the several English witnesses who were examined by the Public Services Commission spoke against us, we are glad that at least one English official, Mr. T.C. Piggot, has given evidence in favour of the Indians, considering the future interests of India. But it is not a fact that the educated classes are not liked by the people as Mr. Piggot and many other Englishmen assert. The zamindars visiting the Englishmen may perhaps, with a view to ~~honour~~ humour them, decry the educated classes, but as a matter of fact they have no aversion towards that community. We have also to consider the bitter hostility of the Englishmen to the vakils, and this perhaps explains Mr. Piggot's statement. But as he concedes that the people like the educated classes so far as the judicial service is concerned, the same relations may be expected to prevail in the near future even with regard to other services. It is both unnatural and opposed to experience that, in one and the same country, one community is antagonistic to another and all of them like a foreign race, and such a feeling, though existing at present, will not last long.

The aristocratic classes will gradually begin to maintain good-will and friendly feelings towards the educated, and the antagonistic spirit referred to by Mr. Piggot will soon pass away. How can be officials in India belong to any other class if not to the educated? The proper attitude between the educated community and the masses in India will be one in which there is no spirit of antagonism just as it is in other countries, and therefore there will be no obstacle to the educated people joining their countrymen and carrying on self-government, provided they have the sympathy and co-operation of their British rulers. As has been observed by Mr. Piggot, the Indians must be trained in executive service by opening to them its higher branches. This being the aspiration of the Indians, it is not proper on the part of the Englishmen to keep them in a low position and retard the realization of that aspiration.

Mr. Gurubaksh Singh Bedi said in his evidence that, though he would personally like that the posts in the Punjab should be held by the Punjabis themselves, he was not opposed to the appointment of Indians of other Provinces. This is a noteworthy opinion, as the Englishmen generally used to say that the Punjabi Sikhs hate and despise the Bengali Babu and the Madrasi Aiyar and that friendly relations cannot exist between the manly and valorous Sikhs on the one hand and the keenly intelligent and crafty Bengalis and Madrasis on the other. Mr. Gurubaksh Singh Bedi's opinion being dimetrically opposed to this view, it remains to be seen how the Englishmen will meet it. Several Englishmen have already been incensed at the union of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and this feeling will become all the more bitter now that the Punjabis, including the Sikhs, have recognized the identity of their interests with those of the other Indian races and declared that they bear no ill-will towards one another.

31. The Swadesamitran, of the 16th April, makes the following remarks on the evidence of Mr. H.D. Craik,

Mr. H.D. Craik's evidence.

I.C.S., before the public Services Commission:-This official said before the Commission that "the masses in India do not want more Indians as administrators and the demand for a large share in the administtation is confined ~~a-~~ to a small educated community". It is surprising to us that some Englishmen should speak with authority on matters of which they know next to nothing. How did Mr. Craik come to know of the existence of such a feeling between the educated community and the masses in India? Who told him that the Indians do not aspire for a large share in the administration? It is not known whether his observations are confined to the Punjabis or are applicable to the other Indians as well. Indeed the descriptions of the Indians given by some Englishmen are so absurd that they will say one day that the Indians walk with their heads turn ~~dowanw~~ downwards.

35. The Sadhvi, of the 15th April, after giving a purport of a letter said to have been communicated by "A

The duty of the British Government.

Friend of India" to the Times of India, in which the correspondent is alleged to have put forward the view that it is the duty of the British Government to see that too large an infusion of the Indian element is not allowed in the interests of the multitudinous peoples given into their charge, criticizes it thus:--" This 'Friend of India' may think himself to be a friend of India; but he is not, we think, a real friend of India; neither is he a friend of the British Government. The best of English statesmen are animated by a desire to raise the people of India, politically as well as socially to a footing of equality with themselves; and some of them have boldly stated that when the people of India become qualified in every way to take

care of themselves, they would even withdraw from India. The Indian aspirations do not go so far. They know that they are extremely indebted to the British people. They are fully conscious that whatever temporary disadvantages their ancestors had by the advent of the British people into India and their assumption of supreme authority in the country, the subsequent advantages materially outweighted the disadvantages. It is not the business of an Indian to consider the ways and means by which the British people attained imperial power in India. It is [the busines]s of an Indian to consider how that Imperial power is exercised by the British Government. We are of opinion that the conditions of peace, justice and security maintained under the British rule entitle it for the support of every Indian. It is the duty of every Indian to extend his unstinted support to the British Government in this matter. The 'Friend of India' is evidently for keeping the Indians as political babies for ever and ever, though they show political youth and manhood. He must remember that in spite of his pious wishes, the Indians are bound to advance in every direction and that the history of the world affords instances of the truth that it is intellect and statesmanship that govern the world, and we are quite confident that if the Indians rise intellectually, morally and politically to a level of equality with, if not not superiority to, the white champions of British power in India, and if they also succeed in showing the spirit of material, moral, social and political union that so remarkably distinguish the Britishers, no power on earth can prevent the Indians from solving the problem of their political salvation under British supremacy. We sincerely hope that India and England, will, before long, know that their interests are identical and that united they will be the

glory of the world and disunited they fall, and the fall will be more inglorious than that of the glorious empire of the world, viz., the Roman Empire".

III. Legislation.

37. In commenting on this measure, the Vijayavikatan, of the 29th March, observes:--The

The Criminal Conspiracy Bill.

immediate cause of this piece of legislation is the throwing of a bomb on the Viceroy at Delhi. The Government suspects the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the Indian public suspets the Englishmen as having been at the bottom of this outrage. In these circumstances, the Government has hastily passed the Criminal Conspiracy Bill into law. The general public has thus been subjected to the rigours of a repressive measure for the misdeed of a certain individual. But we do not think that Lord Hardinge would have, of his own accord, assented to this measure. His mind has been prejudiced by his Councillors or the Anglo-Indian or the British Press. Be this as it may, the law that has now been passed in the Legislative Council is unnecessary for India. We have already had a number of repressive measures which have been growing since the time of Lord Elgin, and especially during the regime of Lord Minto, a sufficient number of such laws were made by Sir Harvey Adamson, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. Where is then the necessity, we ask, for a fresh Act when we have already the Press Gagging Act and the Deportation Act? It is said that the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Bannerjea and the Hon'ble Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar who opposed this Bill were not taken into confidence at the time of passing it into law. Anyhow, the Government

has carried out its wish and all the people are alarmed at the prospect of fresh disasters which may overtake India as a result of this measure. As a handful of weak men cannot do any harm to the British rule, the Government need not have taken such a precipitate step. But a voice whispers into our ears that India deserves even a more drastic measure as the inevitable consequence of the vicious outrage committed on the righteous Viceroy which is sure to be visited on her in the form of such laws.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 26TH APRIL 1913.

No. 17 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

I. Foreign Politics.

Indians in South Africa.

1. The Hindu, of the 26th April, writes:--"Mr. Fischer, Minister of the Interior to the South African Union Government, announced early this month that the Immigration Bill will be introduced on the 14th, but nothing has since been heard on the subject. The astonishing and reprehensible delay, it is to be feared, is not assessed at its true value by the Imperial Government. It means that the Union Government has been putting off a most urgent question on some plea or other, practically refusing to consider what hardships will entail on the Indian community thereby. Several months have elapsed since the provisional settlement was reached; a Bill actually introduced was not pushed through on account of a local difficulty arising from opposition by rabid extremists; several promises have since been made by Ministers in South Africa that no undue delay will be allowed to occur in striving for a solution of this vexed problem. Nor is this all. Definite promises were made to Mr. Gokhale that the remedial measures will be expedited, and His Majesty's Ministers in England have, in reply to representations made by friends in England, pointed to the declaration of the Governor-General of South Africa that the Ministers 'were most anxious to secure passing the Bill and that, having in view the

discussion in Parliament during the last session when the Bill came up for second reading, they will take steps to introduce the Bill with certain amendments as the outcome of that discussion, at the earliest possible date during the course of the next session'. We now know that this has not been done, and the situation today is quite hopeless, the result being nothing less than disgraceful ....One disastrous result of this vexations delay is that the community is being oppressed day by day in a variety of ways, and in a manner which redounds the greatest discredit on the authorities concerned. The letter which we publish today from our South African special correspondent gives a doleful tale of the persecution to which British Indians are subjected and the conclusion is irresistible that most of this cruelty has beside it the sanction, though unexpressed, of a higher authority in South Africa. The cause celebre which has nearly dealt a death-blow to what Indians consider the most sacred in their lives, is the Hassan Esop case against the Minister of the Interior for an order restraining the latter from deporting to India a woman Bai Miriam, who was the lawful wife of the applicant. Mr. Justice Searle of the Cape Supreme Court heard the application ....His Lordship held that the application must be refused, as the marriage did not satisfy the requirements of the Immigration Law............This judgment, whatever the legality of it may,be, is one to which Indians cannot, without doing their national honour and self-respect permanent injury, meekly submit to for a moment. It is so repulsive to their feelings, so disastrous in its effect and so utterly unjust (whatever the statutory law on which the decision is purported to be based may be)

that, in the interests of Indians, it is the bounden duty of the Union Government to pass a law, as an urgent measure, to legalise the marriages under the Indian law ....Unless a remedy is devised by Government for this confusion, oppression and disruption of families caused by the strange interpretation, the situation in South Africa, which is already causing a good deal of anxiety, should become intolerable".

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The Public Services Commission.

8. In commenting generally on the evidence given before the Public Services Commission, the Indian Patriot, of the 22nd April, observes:--"For some months the newspapers would be spared the heart-stirring evidence that came booming from the platform of the Public Services Commission. The evidence of European witnesses in the Civil Service shows that they are not at all actuated by either appreciation or regard towards their Indian ~~subord~~ subordinatesor associates. This is a very disappointing spirit, if this is the real spirit in the Civil Service. It was impossible for any Indian newspaper to sit idle beneath the fire of certain Anglo-Indian witnesses, and the reply to such witnesses had necessarily to come from outside the jurisdiction of the Public Services Commission. The result is we have had quite a rain of racial prejudice, forced out on the placid surface of Indian politics............ The first battle of the Public Services has been fought, the bigger battle; the truce now proclaimed will be of a short duration, for we will go hereafter into more intricate quarters, where lie in clots the dirt of racial prejudice. It will be a most disgusting story when the veil is torn from the other services, as for instance the

Police, the Salt and Abkari or the Engineering, where the path is heavily blocked against deserving Indian................. The Royal Commission have, we think, realised that it is absolutely not a question of playing with the feelings of Indians, but a question of whether England should appear before the educated man as anxious to elevate India, or as exploiting it; a question of upholding the honour of England, the prestige of their sovereigns by upholding their pledges................One aspect of the fight before the Commission is the united desire of Indians to go up higher in the service of their country, and the unity of Europeans to prevent it. There are exceptions and there are valuable exceptions too. But all told, the real issues turn on those who say 'we ~~will not give'~~ want more', and on those why say 'we will not give more'. Those who say 'we want' have proved that they deserve it, those who have said 'we will not give' have said enough to show that they do not deserve to keep them..............But there is one very disquieting feature. All Provincial Governments have given evidence that most unfortunately permits itself to be termed anti-Indian. They have not countenanced the movement for simultaneous examination. They have something to say against the free entry of Indians. It means that the Government of the country is against the proposals. It means also that the Government of the country is ~~against the~~ is behind the Shorrocks and Fentons and Macphersons............We can understand the opposition, the Fenton spirit or the Macpherson spirit when it expresses itself, but when almost the same spirit is associated with Lord Pentland and Lord Carmichael, who compel the people to praise them honestly for the good wishes that they have towards Indians and India, the situation is very incomprehensible. Here is a veil that yet remains to be torn".

9. In a leader on this subject the Indian Patriot, of the 25th April, writes:--

The evidence of European witnesses before the Public Services Commission.

"There is a vein of withering contempt and absolute callousness for popular feeling in several of the European witnesses whose evidence before the Royal Commission on Public Services has come to be described as anti-Indian. Disappointment, regret, discouragement, a thrill of helplessness are all in store for the Indian pouring over the millions of such words spoken and written for the benefit of the Royal Commissioners..............The one string on which they h-ave harped is that Indians, however educated, cannot administer their own brethren, that the average Indian citizen is a complexity of such varied emotions and thoughts and sentiments that no one other than a European can ever manage him. The inexplicable treasures of the head and heart possessed by a European Civilian must ever be present for the orderly and peaceful administration of the people of India. Those virtues and subtle British influences, which undefined are yet present in vaguely-drawn and dimly-present colours before the mind's eye, once withdrawn, the cohesion that holds together British India will disappear............Another exceedingly discouraging circumstance in the burning lava of anti-Indian evidence which, we fear, will take long to cool, is the very scanty appreciation of the very hard, philosophical, honest and devoted work of the Indian officers. It is painful that the work of Indians in office should have come for so little appreciation....................Many an officer in the Indian Civil Service gave evidence; many an officer who gave evidence did know that he owed the di[illegible] of

his papers to his Indian Assistant who drank the night oil while he was taking his drive or playing in the tennis court or was taking his evening drive. To many a conscientious Collector the impression must often have come that his Sarishtadar could do all his work with quicker despatch............The European witnesses would not have given such evidence, but for the impression that it was their first duty to ignore public opinion or to make mock at it, if unignored. They learn to ignore it from their Government; they learn to make mock at it from the Anglo-Indian newspapers............But that the law prevents such publication, the newspapers would have gloried in the discomfiture of the European witnesses before the Islington Commission with the same eager joy as have characterised anti-theosophists in their glorification of the plight before the Bakewell Bench of esoteric theosophy. They are exceedingly short-sighted who think they can make mock at public opinion, who think that they can call Indians incapables without staining the bright expanse of Indians' happiness. If even the plant has been shown to possess feelings of pain with the aid of the Bose electric apparatus, the most ignorant and illiterate Indian can also be proved to be conscious of pain when he is classified among undeveloped species of human kind............Government must warn their servants against expressing contempt for the people, because such feelings, always discourage a people bred in the love of their sovereign, faith in their rulers, and contentment in their lot. As it is, both the Indian people and Indian officers may well read the anti-Indian evidence and ask themselves in despair: 'And is this the result of our devotion to duty?'"

28. The Swadesamitran, of the 19th April, comments as follows on the evidence of Sir Louis Dane before the Public Services Commission:--Like Sir James Meston, Sir Louis Dane also began by saying that he sympathized with the aspirations of the Indians and that he was not opposed to their employment in the higher branches of service and the improvement of their prospects; but all his proposals were practically against such improvement. In spite of his great sympathy for the Indians, it should not be forgotten that he is a member of the Civil Service. His affection and sympathy are not likely to be advantageous to the Indians at present. Up to this time the views of three Lieutenant-Governors have been published, as also the opinion of the Bombay Government. In none of the recommendations made by these four Governments is there any chance for the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Indians and there is no reason to believe that the opinions of the Governments of Madras and Bengal will be different. When all the Local Governments express unfavourable opinions, we fear that Lord Hardinge too will be obliged to agree with them. There will thus be a conflict of views between the Government and the Englishmen on the one hand and the general public on the other. Nothing short of the institution of simultaneous examinations will give satisfaction to the Indians. Even if the Government and the Commission decide this time against the Indians and cause them deep disappointment, the question will be revived ten years hence and simultaneous examinations are bound to prevail then. Meanwhile the people of India, including the Hindus,

Sir Louis Dane's evidence before the Public Services Commission.

Muhammadans and Sikhs, will be seething with discontent. How this will benefit the administration of India is indeed a question for statesmen to answer.

The Public Services Commission has completed its examination of witnesses in India. As all the witnesses to be examined in England are likely to be English officials, their evidence will also go against the Indians. Though this Commission may thus arrive at a decision unfavourable to the Indians, we believe that the salaries of the members of the Civil Service will be increased, their rapid promotions will be ensured and recommendations will be made for greater benefits being conferred upon them in the matter of their leave, pension, etc.

30. In reporting the proceedings of a public meeting held recently in Calcutta to discuss this subject,

The Separation of the judicial and executive functions.

the Swadesamitran, of the 21st April, says:--Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh who presided on the occasion formulated a scheme for the separation of the judicial and executive functions in India and thanked the non-official members of the Viceregal Legislative Council who had voted in favour of the resolution on this subject brought forward by the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Bannerjee. The reply then given by Sir Reginald Craddock was quite unsatisfactory. This is the first time when all the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council gave their votes unanimously, indicating thereby that they had behind them the strong support of the general public. When the Hindus and the Muhammadans thus present a united front, no further evidence is necessary to gauge the public opinion in this matter. All the European witnesses, who gave evidence before the Public

Services Commission, stated that the desire for the separation of these two functions was confined to the educated Indians and that the common people never thought of it. Do they imply by such a statement that the Government need not consider the unanimous opinion of the Members expressed in the Legislative Council? It is not wise to expect the opinion of the masses on all questions. Though they may have practical experience in regard to several questions, they do not know how to suggest reforms. The Government should therefore understand that when once the popular representatives express their opinions unamimously,the acceptance of those opinions will be agreeable and advantageous to the people.

33. The Asafia Gazette, of the 15th April, says that, owing to anarchists and their misdeeds, some hard and severe rules have been passed in India. But the recent attack on His Excellency the Viceroy has roused the feelings of Europeans against the Indians. It further states

Anglo-Indian papers on the bomb occurrence.

that had this excitement not exceeded its limits, it would have been considered quite reasonable; but that the part played by the Anglo-Indian and English newspapers in trying to induce the Government of India to pursue an immoderate policy as regards the occurrence is productive of bad results for India. It adds that the Englishman of Calcutta says that if an anarchist of India apes the Russian the Government should also treat him accordingly. This suggestion of the Englishman cannot be regarded as kind, seeing that the Russian authorities and others connected with them transport whole crowds without any enquiry into their case whatever. It further adds that another English paper says that the political leaders in India in particular and the public in general should be informed that if any further attempt is made towards

political murder, all the Legislative Councils, Local Bodies, and Municipal and District Boards will be abolished and the Indians will be placed in bad straits.

The merciful and level-minded Viceroy His Excellency Lord Hardinge, after the assault, has already announced that no change in policy will occur. The paper adds that this makes one believe that Government will not be influenced by the above suggestions.

Lord Curzon's statue.

41. The Sadhvi, of the 22nd April, after giving a summary of the speech delivered by His Excellency Lord Carmichael, on the occasion of the unveiling of Lord Curzon's statue in Calcutta, makes the following observations:--"There are many Indians who openly say that Lord Curzon did not deserve the honour of a statue in India. They are perfectly mistaken. No Viceroy did a millionth portion of the good that Lord Curzon did to this country. It was Lord Curzon who created spirit of unanimity among the Bengalees. It was he who gave a great impetus to the spirit of Swadeshi. It was he who was the father of the Executive Councils and the enlarged Legislative Councils. It was he who gave an impetus to the constitutional movements among the disintegrated units of the Indian race. He taught Indians to love their mother land. He created a spirit of brotherhood among the Indians. It was he who more than anybody else taught the people of India the spirit of self-sacrifice at the altar of patriotism. He was selected by Providence to be an apostle of the political regeneration of India. We are not for an ordinary statue for him. A diamond statue of his should

be placed on a golden pedestal. India wants now either benevolent despots or unmitigated tyrants. We can expect good from both of them. We do not want administrators, who are neither benevolent nor tyrannical, and who try to snatch with one hand what they give with the other".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 3RD MAY 1913.

No. 18 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The Kovvur riot.

7. In commenting on the recent Government Order on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 3Oth April, writes:--"Whatever it is, the mighty Government is seen, throughout these three years of friction, not anxious to prevent, but only to protect. A helpless Government, entangled in the meshes of religious non-interference, was seen standing behind with carbines to shoot people dead as they fought, but never to lift a little finger to prevent. That is the tragedy of the riot. The Government always knew that danger was ahead. But having placed carbines in the hands of the constables and prescribed time-tables for Moslems to repeat prayers, Government thought it had done its duty. When two people fall dead, it is of course found that the Collector 'regrets the loss of life but it was unavoidable'. And then we come across officers who, it seems, showed coolness and courage, in emergency, little Wellingtons and Nelsons, who are marked out for special mention. The Superintendent of Police omits to mention which constable courageously shouldered his gun and shot at the crowed, but in his opinion also, 'the loss of life is unfortunate, but, in the

circumstances, perfectly justifiable'.................. We may tell the mighty Government of Madras that had an authoritative village panchayat existed at Kovvur, the mosque would never have been built, the riot would never have occurred, life would never have been lost. The Government have undertaken to do everything for the people, and this is the result".

VI. Miscellaneous.

The treatment of emigrants.

11. In commenting on the evidence given before the Putumayo Atrocities Commission, and in comparing it with the treatment received by Indian emigrants in British Colonies, the Indian Patriot, of the 28th April, says:--"There is another direction in which it is very essential that the British spirit should display itself. Indians in the Transvaal, in Canada, in the Federated Malay States, in British Guiana, in Fiji, are all clamouring for the British spirit. We published two sad calls elsewhere. The Putumayo and the Congo spirit is still smouldering there. The Winchester rifle often smokes after the death-dealing cartridge had lodged in Indian flesh. Wives are torn from husbands, children from mothers. Canada, over which the royal blood of England bears sway, makes a distinction between China or Japan and India. The wife of a Chinaman, of a Jap can enter Canada, but not the wife of the natural born subject of His Majesty King George V. In south Africa the natural born subject of the King of England cannot own land or carry on business, that that the Arana spirit of the Boer steps in to drive him away from the

magic circle of white competition. From Fiji, to where the Indian subjects of Britain have gone in search of susttenance the wail of our countrymen yelling beneath the whip falls jarring in the ears. Is there no British spirit for those who cannot demand it? For him who wants it most why it is not vouchsafed? Rather we would have it that Lord Pentland's Government did not give rice to the prisoner or kerchief to the convict, if the countrymen of Lord Pentland would see that Indian subjects of the King-Emperor are as free in Canada as in Ootacamund. Let not one Indian remain anywhere as a slave. It is time that slave and slavery are expunged from the ~~England~~ English dictionary. It is the antipodes of the British spirit that tolerate indentured emigration, and persist in indentured emigration against the voice of united India speaking through Mr. Gokahale".

In a further article on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 1st May, observes:--"Some time ago we published the story of a coolie rebellion in the Straits, in which four or five Indians were shot dead. Did the Government enquire? Today we publish the story of the shooting down of nine Indians, of marching of cartloads of wounded to hospitals. Will the Government pass a press communique today to say that they will enqiuire? Does not the Government feel as much as the people when the news arrives of a foreign police opening fire on their subjects. Cannot Government recall that, by maintaining an indentured system of registration, the Government itself helped to push its subjects into slavery in a foreign country..................To shoot down nine Indians and send cartloads of wounded to hospitals is

surely a very easy way of dealing with labour discontent. The question is, will the Government of India enquire? Not against the Mashud Tribes or the Naga tribesmen or the Abor or the Chinese on the Burman Frontier should the prestige of British India be demonstrated. It must be demonstrated on behalf of Indians abroad, unless Government assert that when they permitted them to march into the Emigration depot for indentured registration, Government branded them slaves and can never more be expected to be concerned with them".

13. In a leading article under the heading "Worse than Slavery", the Madras Standard, of the 1st May, writes:--"When the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale moved in the Supreme Legislative Council that indentured labour should be closed so far as India was concerned, the official spokesman held forth eloquently on the difficulties and the economic advantages of the step to this country. The former reason is too trifling to be discussed here. As to the latter, we may refer the authorities to the experience of the Strait Settlements. Indentured labour was abolished there in 1911 but the number of Indians that go there has not lessened, and their savings remitted to India have vastly improved. The sufferings of the people have decreased and the degradation been removed. We have no reason to believe that the abolition of indentured labour in other parts as well will in any way produce other results.........This lesson, though plain from the experience of the Straits, our Government refuse to learn, and tales of Indian misery in foreign lands are daily reaching this country.................... It is well known that the lot of an indentured Indian is not one of bliss, but one of daily hardship and misery.

Indentured labour.

They have, in practice, no one ~~of~~ to guard their interests and their only weapon, when driven to despair, is brute force. A capitalist whose only concern is to amass money and who generally belongs to a foreign race is, in the case of indentured labour, even free from the fear that his labourers may desert him. Placed in such a position, his animal nature generally gets the better of the human".

I. Foreign Politics.

15. The Andhraprakasika, of the 23rd April, has a leader on the South African question in which it says that the Indians expected much good from the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's visit to that place. But from the latest reports of South African events, it regrets to infer that the expectation is not based on any grounds. It appears that registered Indians are under certain circumstances now forbidden to live with their wives and children. A certain man arrived there with his wife. He was ordered to land by himself without his wife, for the marriage tie between them did not come within the meaning of the Emigration Act. Even if the aggrieved party resorts to a court of law, it is found very difficult to obtain justice. It is said that British subjects are all entitled to equal treatment wherever they may be in the British Empire. But it is not known, says the paper, why in practice this principle is not followed. Neither the Government of India nor the authorities in England take pains to see that this principle of equal treatment is observed all over the British Dominions. The paper urges that the leaders of the people should spare no pains to agitate the matter constitutionally and work at it till their efforts bear fruit.

The South African question.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

21. In commenting on the judgment in this case delivered by the First-class Magistrate of Muttra, acquitting the accused Joseph Thomas Hodgins, who is a soldier of the 6th Dragoons, the Lokopakari, of the 21st April, remarks:--That the accused in this case would be acquitted is a foregone conclusion. Every case in which the murderer is a European and the murdered is an Indian illustrates that no justice can be obtained in such cases. It is perhaps a feature of the civilization of the twentieth century that the European murderers of innocent Indians should be let off without any punishment. It is strange that the Europeans, who complain bitterly of the unfitness of the Indians to hold high offices on account of their caste prejudices, should be guilty of those very faults. Is it laid down anywhere that the lives of the Europeans are more precious than those of the Indians? If not, it is astonishing that the Government should be heedless of the increasing cases of murders of Indians by Europeans. Such murders can be effectively stopped only by legally prohibiting the carrying of arms by the soldiers, except when they are on duty. Otherwise they will doubtless increase and lead to public discontent, which, we hope, the Government will deem it to be its supreme duty to avoid.

The Brindavan murder case.

29. The Sasilekha, of the 22nd April, in commenting upon the combination of the judicial and executive functions in the same hands, observes that Sub-Magistrates and Tahsildars are nominated from amongst the clerks of

Executive and Judicial Functions.

the Collectorate who dare not go against the wishes of the Collector or the Police Superintendent. The Indian National Congress had, for the past five and twenty years, been persistently urging the necessity of recruiting the Sub-Magistrates from a better educated class of men and of placing them under the direct control of High Court Judges with a view to securing an impartial administration of criminal justice. Two or three years ago the matter had been countenanced in the Viceroy's Legislative Council and Sir Harvey Adamson introduced the measure into Bengal tentatively with a promise that he would give it a fair trial. Great was the disappointment of the people when later on in the Viceroy's Legislative Council they were told, in answer to the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee's interpellations, that the matter had been dropped. A meeting was convened in the Town Hall at Calcutta with Dr. Rash Behari Ghose as President and certain proposals were sent up to Government much on the same lines as were hitherto set forth by men like Mano Mohun Ghose and Romesh Chandra Dutt. The Government object to these proposals on the score that they involve enormous additional expenditure, that the Collector if divested of his magisterial functions would be treated with scant respect by the people, that the Indians should not be given such powers, and that it would bring about a preponderance of the vakil class in State administration. There is no other civilized State where there is such a comibnation of judicial and executive powers in the same hands. This is a great stigma on British administration. Further people's faith in the promises of Government would be shaken if the promise made by the

Indian Government two years ago is to be revoked today. The paper recommends these points for the consideration of the authorities.

30. The Sasilekha, of the 25th April, in its article on "Royal Public Service Commission"

~~The~~ Royal Public Services Commission.

observes:--"Though the Europeans, in giving evidence, gave vent to their passions and decried the Indians, the latter established their contentions in a becoming manner and were patient in the extreme. The Europeans disgraced themselves by undue discussions which carried with them their own condemnation. It was patent to the Royal Commission from the very manner in which the Indians gave evidence that they were worthy of high posts. Setting aside the evidence of the Civilians, even the local Governments of the various provinces pronounced against the Indians and it is no wonder that they have done so inasmuch as the Governors of the respective provinces are mere puppets in the hands of the Civilians. During the~~past~~ past 30 years, so far as we have ~~done-so-in~~ known, only Lord Ripon and the Duke of Buckingham carried on administration independently of the Civilians. From the evidence of the several local Governments it is plain that they too do not like that Indians should be given high posts. It remains to be seen whether the Royal Commission would make bold to over-ride the opinions of the local Governments and the Civilians and declare the Indians eligible for high posts. It does not stand to reason to say that sedition and the bomb would thrive if Indians be given high posts. We very much regret that even Lord Carmichael and Lord Pentland should have accepted the version of the Civilian members. The Civil Service examinations should be simultaneously conducted in India as it is only by that means that Indians can obtain high posts.

31. The Desabhimani, of the 24th April, in its ~~ati~~ article on "Royal Commission", remarks that the Muhammadan conquerors of old used to settled down in India and identify their interests with the Indians. It regrets how the promises of Parliament in 1833 and of Queen Victoria in 1858 have remained a dead letter and how nothing substantial had come out of the Royal Commission instituted in 1886. It observes that the opposition of the Anglo-Indians to Indian aspirations during the course of the present inquiry was even more decided than on the previous occasion. It says that hankering after English ideals is the natural result of English education and the English should be pround that Indians claim equality of rights under the same flag with them. It is, however, strange that Indians, for governing India, should be required to pass an examination in England. It remains to be seen how the present Commission is going to represent matters to the authorities in England.

Royal Commission.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 10TH MAY 1913.

No. 19 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

I. Foreign Politics.

1. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 3rd May, writes:-- "A deputation of three

Indians in Canada.

Indians, resident in Vancouver, British Columbia, recently arrived in London to plead the cause of their countrymen in Canada before the authorities in Whitehall. From a statement issued by the gentlemen comprising the deputation we understand that in the year 1905 there were no fewer than 6,000 Indian residents in British Columbia and that in that year the Dominion Government commenced that policy of persecution of Indians which has remained with unabated vigour all these years....................The absurdities of the restrictions operating against Indians in Canada will be readily understood when it is mentioned that while under treaty obligations entered into by their respective Governments with Canada, ~~will~~ Japanese and Chinese settlers can enter Canada practically without undue restrictions, it is only against the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor that the door has been shut. On the other hand Indians resident in the Dominion are not permitted to bring their wives and children while in other respects too they are subjected to vexatious and harassing legislation pointedly directed against them. Mr. Nand Singh, the leader of the deputation, seems therefore quite justified

when he says that the treatment of Indians is 'unjust, inhuman and unnatural', while the immigration laws which are cunningly devised to keep wives separate from husbands and children from their parents are properly stigmatised as a disgrace to Canadian legislation. Mr. Nand Singh and his colleagues have made out a strong case for the intervention of the Home Government, for the contrast between the treatment of foreigners like Japanese and Chinamen on the one hand and British Indian subjects on the the other cannot but evoke feelings of resentment in the people of this country. The Home Government ought to put its foot down on absurdities like these instead of being swayed by considerations of expediency or mawkish sentimentalism towards a colony which has so little realised the true imperial ideal".

Indians in South Africa.

2. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 4th May, remarks:--"The Indian problem in South Africa, which Mr. Gokhale was said to have facilitated the solution of, has unfortunately become more acute. The new South African Immigration Bill has been declared by the Indian settlers to be unacceptable to them, because it has ignored the fundamental principle of compromise regarding their existing rights and the racial bar............. The situation remains in fact unchanged, and it is the duty of Indians to know whether they are British subjects in South Africa".

The South African Immigbation Bill.

3. In commenting on the provisions of the South African Immigration Bill, the Hindu, of the 7th May, writes:--"We have received full particulars about the Immigration Bill, the second reading of which was moved

by Mr. Fisher, Minister of the Interior, in the Union House of Assembly, on the 1st Instant. The situation created by this measure, and the consequences which may arise therefrom are fully described by our correspondent in South Africa whose important letter we publish elsewhere. 'Treachery and deceit' are certainly very strong expressions to use; but where mutual understanding and solemn promises have been so openly and shamelessly disregarded, such characterisation by one on the spot is quite intelligible. The Bill is described to be a distinct violation of the provisional agreement which was arrived at in 1911, and such as is likely to arouse the bitterest hostility of the passive resisters. Existing rights of resident Indians in the several provinces are proposed to be taken away and the racial bar is still there, but so clothed as to elude the grasp of any but the wary. It will be seen, therefore, that, so far as the two most prominent claims of British Indians are concerned, the Bill gives absolutely no relief. But it goes further and takes away many of the existing rights of domiciled British Indians. A most objectionable provision is section 3 which takes away the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, except on question of domicile--a very shadowy reservation, in cases coming under the Bill. Civil Courts, it is recited, cannot have any jurisdiction 'to review, quash, reverse, interdict or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, act, order or warrant' issued under the measure, and appeals from the decisions of immigration offices lie to an Immigration Board. It is impossible to view this new development with any patience. According to the present laws, appeals could be made even to the Privy Council, and the mischievous restriction

now sought to be imposed by this provision only reveals the determination of the South African European community to harass and oppress Indians in every conceivable manner..........As our correspondent says even the rights of those educated Indians who have entered Natal or the Cape under the rights prescribed by the existing regulations have been jeopardised. Under this Bill, moreover, the inter-provincial movement of South African Indians is made illegal--a thing to which they are not likely to submit to meekly. Further, it is declared that residents in any province who absent themselves for a period of three years continuously from it after the passing of the Act are to be declared as prohibited immigrants. At one stroke, the Transvaal Registration certificates and the Natal domicile certificates are thus declared null and void. There are numerous other most serious defects in the Bill which space forbids us from dwelling upon here. There is one particular matter, however, which has to be mentioned. The Bill serenely passes by the recent judgment of the Supreme Court which, in effect, has declared Indian marriages illegal so far as South Africa is concerned. As our correspondent says, the Bill is unscrupulous and cannot be accepted as any honourable compromise".

(b) Courts.

7. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 3rd May, writes:--"It is not too much to say

The Brindavan shooting case.

that the order of the First-class Magistrate of Muttra in the Brindavan shooting case, discharging a British soldier adcused of shooting dead an Indian Bairagi, has come upon the Indian Public with the shock of painful surprise.................We are constrained to remark that

the judgment is lacking in that lofty impartiality which one associates with judicial pronouncements.......... The tenour of the judgment makes it clear that the Magistrate in his eagerness to discharge the accused Hodgins invented a number of ingenious pleas for which there is absolutely no justification. We submit that British justice, even as between Indians and Europeans, should not be administered on these lines. The one thing on which Englishmen in India could take a pardonable pride is impartiality in the administration of justice. Judged by this standard, Mr. Moore's order deserves the severest condemnation. We shall say nothing about Mr. Moore's gratuitous and complacent assertion regarding the anti-British animus which he says is characteristic of the Indian Bairagis or his opinion as to the effects of bhang in maddening the Bairagis. The effect of bhang is the very reverse of that attributed by the Magistrate. It renders a man sluggish and inert and to say that it produces maddening effects is to say what is not a fact. The magisterial pronouncement in the unfortunate case has produced the most painful impression among the people of this country and this is clearly a case in which the Government ought to exercise the right it possesses of appealing against the acquittal, as there can be no doubt that there has been a miscarriage of justice".

VI. Miscellaneous

The entente cordiale between Moslems and Hindus.

18. The Muhammadan, of the 24th April, writes:--"Long have the Hindus and the Moslems been at feuds. Mutual jealousies and hates have distorted and disfigured India's vision. Thanks to the cruelty of circumstance, children of the common soil have had to fly at each other's throat. A new feeling has arisen. A new thought has dawned. A necessity has occurred for

inter-communal unity and co-operation. A persistent call there has been for sympathy, for aid. National interests have come to override sectarian hates and racial prejudices. The love of the country as a whole has come to animate and inspire the people of this land. .... Is India alone to be condemned to party strife? Should not India have her own hopes and aspirations? Is she for ever to be a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water? Would not the thoughtful Indian be impelled to picture to himself higher forms and grander ends--for his dear native land? .... We heartily support the plea for inter-communal unity. India's unity is our midnight dream and our waking theme".

23. Referring to Mr. R.F. Austin's report on the emigrants returning from Fiji per S.S. Ganges, the Madras Standard, of the 8th May, writes:--"Of the emigrants on board, 27 paid for their passage and the remaining were carried free. Mr. Austin adds that the emigrants were questioned by him individually as to the treatment they had received in the colony and during the voyage, and it is said they they had no complaints to make. This looks rather strange when reports of the miserable treatment of Indians at Fiji has repeatedly appeared in the press. Some eminent Indians who recently visited that colony have unhesitatingly condemned the treatment given to Indians and the silence of the last batch of emigrants on this question must certainly be due to some restraining influence--perhaps the very presence of the European officer. Mr. Austin incidentally states in the report that persons found

Emigrants from Fiji.

unfit for labour in the colony were sent to their respective homes at the expense of the Colonial Government. We are thankful for this help, but does this piece of service finish all that the people of Fiji owe to the poor Indian? Surely, when he left this country, he was fit for work and he now returns a wreck. This catastrophe--it is no less to him--must have been due to the neglect of the emigration agent during the cooly's voyage to Fiji or during his stay in the colony. So he has come to that unfortunate position forno fault of his country or even himself. Is it then just that he should now be left helpless by the Colonial Government to increase the number of the economically unproductive people in this country? This is the trick which many other colonies are playing in addition to Fiji and in the interests of the sufferers, as well as this country, it is essential that the colony, which is responsible for their present helplessness, must be made to compensate them".

II. Home Administration

The Meerut Shooting case.

25. In commenting on the Meerut shooting case, the Desamata, of the 30th April, remarks as follows:-- Great dissatisfaction has been caused to the Indian community by the judgment of the Magistrate who declared the soldier innocent and let him off. He not only stated many things in his judgment which had not been established by evidence, but also remarked that the Bairagees are as a class opposed to the British, and that the individual in question pursued the soldiers in order to take their lives. He thus showed a lack of the impartiality and the love of justice which ought to form the chief characteristics

of a British Judge. The suspicion is already prevailing that in disputes between a European and an Indian, it is hard to obtain justice. Instead of trying to dispel any such suspicion, the First Class Magistrate of Meerut imagined so many things not warranted by the evidence and gave a judgment which only went to confirm that suspicion. The public are of opinion that the Government will do well to order the case to be re-tried by another Judge. The Magistrate did not feel it a disgrace to the British community that a soldier should take to his heels before an emaciated Bairagee, but on the other hand praised him for his valour in shooting the Bairagee dead in order to save himself from being hurt. From this, it will be evident how this Magistrate's love of independence has deteriorated by breathing our country's atmosphere. If the British Empire is to be strengthened, every Judge should dispense justice impartially and gain the confidence of the people. If out of undue love for the race to which they belong, the Judges are partial, we fear that the reputation of the British for justice and impartiality will seriously suffer. Although the Magistrate of Meerut may think that he was right in acquitting the accused, yet the public cannot endorse his judgment.

Oddities of judicial administration.

26. Referring respectively to the Brindavan murder case and another (in Bengal) in which a Hindu named Behari Dutt was charged with assaulting a European, the Mysore Star, of the 5th May, observes:--That a Hindu should have been sentenced to a fine as well as imprisonment for giving a blow to a European who had irritated him

by abusing him, while a soldier who had deliberately killed a hermit has been acquitted as being innocent--does this not point to the strange manner in which justice is being administered nowadays? These cases not only proclaim to the world the present unfortunate treatment of Indians but also reveal the blot which is staining the fair name of British justice. All Anglo-Indian officials should realise that the glory of the empire cannot be preserved unless they so shape their conduct as to prevent such blots as these.

The Kovvur riot.

36. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st May, comments as follows upon the order of the Government of Madras regarding the Hindu-Muhammadan riot, which recently took place at Kovvur in the Nellore district:--The Hindus seem to have petitioned the authorities at the very time the mosque was constructed that its existence in a street, in which a large number of Hindus lived and through which Hindu religious processions would often have to pass, might lead to serious riots in the future. But the then District Magistrate appears to have ordered that they should seek redress in a Civil Court. If only the objection raised by the Hindus then had been properly considered, the present riot could perhaps have been avoided. We hope that the Government will issue strict instructions to the Magistrates that, hereafter at least, they should not shove their responsibility on others' shoulders in matters like this.

The Kovvur riot.

The Sasilekha, of the 2nd May, refers in its leader to the Government order on the subject of the Hindu-Muhammadan riot at Kovvur in Nellore district, and expresses its dissatisfaction with the report of the

Collector who stated that both the parties were to blame for the riot. It remarks that the police and the Tahsildar did not take pains to prevent the riot, but went to the scene too late. It urges that strict orders should be passed that no new mosques should be erected by the Muhammadans in streets along which Hindu gods are carried in procession. Unless that is done, says the paper, there can be no end of these riots.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 3rd May, commends the action of Government in calling for a detailed report of the objections raised by the Hindus to the construction of the mosque in question and as to how those objections had been disposed of by the authorities. It also feels gratified that the Government have made up their minds to put off their enquiry into the conduct of the officials concerned with the Kovvur riot, until the cases pending in the courts are finally disposed of. It prays that, on receipt of the report called for from the Collector, the Government will take all the facts into their consideration and see that only the really guilty are punished and the innocent are not unnecessarily annoyed.

Englishmen and Indians.

44. The Lokopakari, of the 28th April, observes:--It seems two Hindu gentlemen, who were walking along a street in London, were suddently assaulted by two Europeans. When a police constable, who saw this, arresteed them, they appear to have remarked "So much for this black man!" We do not know when the whites, who think that no respect need be paid to black men, will be taught a good lesson.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 17TH MAY 1913.

No. 20 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

I. Foreign Politics.

The South African Immigration Bill.

2. The Hindu, of the 13th May, has the following:--"Reuter's account of the adjourned debate in the South African Union Assembly, on the second reading of the Immigrants Restriction Bill, is the reverse of assuring. Apart from the clamour of the extremists who wish to deny every conceivable right to British Indians, the debate has made clear two points. One is that the Imperial Government has set its seal of approval to a Bill which has caused considerable consternation in the minds of Indians in South Africa because of its wilful violation of solemn promises and pledges, and because it is calculated in many respects to take away their existing rights and privileges. We are grieved that the Imperial Government should have, without heeding Indian representations and giving weight to Indian interests, told the South African Government that the present Bill if passed would afford a satisfactory settlement of the question. It is to be feared that the Imperial Government, who have ever been anxious to do something, but have been practically helpless in the matter, have committed a grievous blunder in the step that they are reported to have taken. The injury done is very great and the utmost efforts of friends in England would be needed to get the Colonial Office understand

and appreciate the extent of this injury. The second point which has to be noticed is the scarcely veiled threat of Mr. Fisher that, if passive resistance should be revived, there would probably be a law enacted specially against Asiatics. A more barefaced statement, utterly lacking in sobriety, statesmanship and grace, cannot be conceived. It is, however, on a par with the disgraceful way in which the great question has been treated by the irresponsible authorities in the South African colonies. We think that, after what has happened, the responsibility for a satisfactory solution of the difficulty has shifted to the Imperial Government from the South African Union Government who have shown themselves quite incapable of realising the gravity of the issue at stake".

Referring to Reuter's account of the passgge of this Bill, the Indian Patriot, of the 14th May, writes:--"The telegram that we publish today from Lodon will spread anxiety and indignation throughout India. The Bill, which the special cofrespondent of the Leader writing from Durban is able to describe as one 'reeking with treachery and deceit', is having a smooth passage through the legislature. We look in vain for any sturdy champion of the Asiatics in the Council, no member who could plead for those who built up the Transvaal of today, with whose sweat on the brow any cry of desolation in the air the planter accumulated his bank accounts. The drama that is enacted in the South African Parliament is a tragedy of advanced civilization, the triumph of selfishness over gratitude, the flagrant kicking of the ladder after one has ascended to the top. India has been following every incident with pain; Indian womanhood has ~~is~~ felt a dagger into its sense of duty to

the husband--a sense of duty that for ever like a lamp shines forth in a naughty world--as the announcement came with poisonous force that the Indian wife, in the eyes of South African law, ceased to be a wife. Every stone flung on the pool of Indian feelings on the South African problem has started its waves from end to end of the country and sunk to the bottom. They remain at the bottom. They will ever remain there. We see a Bill that is a real halter--not for the neck for our countrymen in South Africa care not for their necks--for their very claims to being human beings. Like sheep led to sacrifiec on the altar stand our brave countrymen, and over them waves the shining blade of the ministerial threat against passive resistance......................Our countrymen, however, know what to do. They have shown what they can do. They will not quail now that the highest court in South Africa has penetrated into the secret repose of the Indian home and shrieks in killing vein: 'your wife is your concubine'. They will rally, for the spirit of a self-governing Colony cannot escape inoculating so highly intelligent a race as are the Indians. They will flock to the jails, they will die on the floor of the prison, they will bear the Cross, for they are subjects of King Georve V and are loyal subjects. They will die rather than bring discredit on the British Empire by bending their necks to the noose of slavery. The very whisper of the word 'passive resistance' will convince India that it is not imaginative poetry, but grim actuality that wafts its voice over the waters from Pretoria to Bombay. ....It is enough to say that the Bill that is now on its way into the statute book is not the

kind of Bill that was promised, and the promise of which alone quenched the noble thirst of Indians to carve deep in the history of the world their story of manly resolution, determination to embrace death and suffering, not dishonour and slavery. A Government like an individual has a character to lose, and the South African Government bids fair to beat every other Government in the world in its record of promises given to the ear and broken to the heart. The Smut somersault over the Registration Bill is still fresh in our memory; the present Bill is an ominous gallery of broken pledges and demolished hopes. India is burning today with indignation for the wrongs piled upon her children who, in a self-governing country, have imbibed the spirit of liberty and have raised, by their noble self-sacrifice and show of courage, the name of India and Indians in the estimation of the world. And to such an India, looking up to the Imperial Government, looking up to the King whom she loves and who loves her so well, the cruel words of the South African Minister pierce like shart daggers: 'The Imperial Government have assured me that if the Bill were carried, it would be a satisfactory settlement'. We hope this is false, that it is only a political subterfuge of an unscrupulous politician. Let us hope that Lord Crewe and Mr. Montagu will rather have resigned than that a Government, in which they have an important part, should have said about a Bill which strikes at the honour, self-respect, security and ordinary claims of Indians ~~to the~~ of Indians to the benefits of modern civilisation. We refuse to believe that this is the real opinion of the British Government, for if it is true, what does it mean except that the Indian subjects of His Majesty have to brave the horrors of a South African prison or bind themselves down to be slaves".

In writing further on this subject, the Indian Patriot of the 16th May, says:--"When the South African Government are forging the links of the chain that is to bind down the Indian subjects of His Majesty King George V to slavery, when the South African Minister holds out the threat to a race that has displayed wonderful power of passive resistance that the Government would not be defied, when, to the helpless knot of resolute Indians looking to their Government for aid and sympathy, the cruel words are poured that the enslaving chain thrown around them has had the sanction and approval of the Imperial Government, the utmost that we, in India, are able to do is to write articles in newspapers, to convene public meetings, and, in some cases, to collect public subscriptions. We are of course indgnant, but our indignation bubbles and bursts between the mind and the lips. We are helpless. For real help we had to wait for a philanthropic Tata; for real agitation we have to wait for a Polak; for a real agitation in Madras, nothing will do but the arrival of the deportees among us, under the busily sympathetic superintendence of Mr. Natesan. Otherwise we hear nothing. Our countrymen may be murdered in New Guinea, oppressed and most inhumanly treated in Fiji. They have no organised public opinion in their mother country, that is India. Indians, though more educated than they are, have not the spirit which comes to them in a strange country, in the face of a common danger, amidst a self-governing people, and in the midst of difficulties. As the people of India are unorganised so is the Government indifferent. No representation goes forth from them; no words of vigorous protest, no determination to

back up the honour and prestige of their own subjects, no display of that love which will rebel at the sight of the hard-working Indians treated like cattle. The people protest, but have not behind them the fortifications of organisation that can set a Government to act; the Government never protest at all. With as little concern do they hear of them as of the Eskimos or the Hottentots. Our countrymen are panting for the touch of 'our Government', even as an orphaned child that has not its mother pants for the fond motherly embrace.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts

The Knulna Arms Act case.

4. In commenting on this case, the Indian Patriot, of the 12th May, writes:--"The Calcutta High Court has once again courageously stepped out to take away the look of terror from the law. Mr. Justice Imam's decision is a great gain to the cause of common-sense, on the Khulna Arms Act case in which, according to the Indian Daily News, the Government Pleader was sent in to defend a conviction of a servant who was carrying his master's gun to the Magistrate, for renewal of his license as required by law..................It would seem as if the Government existed for the deliberate and cruel purpose of playing the ferocious mother-in-law to the daughter-in-law of the Indian nation. A zamindar cannot send his fire-arms with his servant to the place where Law asks him to send, but the servant is waylaid, hauled up before the court and fined. If a zamindar has half-a-do en fire-arms and the date of registration fall on a particular day, he will have no other go but to take them all on his head and walk up from

his summer residence to the Magistrate's court, even if it is a fifty or a hundred miles away. For, if it is a crime for a servant to carry fire-arms, it must be a crime--any vakil can be obtained to say so in strong language and to the accompaniment of legal authorities--for a coachman to drive the zamindar to the Magistrate's court, for it could be proved that it was the coachman with the help of the horse that was really carrying the fire-arms. When fools, devoid of common-sense, are placed as Magistrates, a whole population suffers injustice..................We fear very much that there are innumerable instances of such open defiance of common-sense in the name of justice, to which many a clever lawyer would be pointing as triumphs of his career and laurels to his brow. There can be no more revolting picture than the Khulna Magistrate sitting over the statue of Injustice and licking it into the shape of Justice".

The Government of India and Muhammadan education.

25. The Swadesamitran, of the 6th May, observes:--In its circular to the Provincial Governments pointing out the lines on which Muhammadan education should be improved, the Government of India says that this subject is receiving its special attention and that Muhammadan education is considered to be an "Imperial problem". By an "Imperial problem" is meant a question in which, not only the Provincial Governments, but even the Government of India and the Secretary of State take an interest. We raise no objection to the Government of India taking special interest in Muhammadan education. But we are really surprised to see that the above circular is so drafted as to create an impression that Hindu education is

not an Imperial problem. The Indian Muhammadans are nearly six crores in number and live not only in India but in other countries also. Certain events, which recently happened in some Muhammadan countries, have served to rouse the feelings of the Indian Muhammadans and the attitude of the British Government towards these Muhammadan countries is deemed to be one of the causes of this provocation. So we admit that it is very desirable that the Muhammadans should be pacified. But this is no reason why the Government's sympathy for and confidence in the Hindus should be reduced.

Hindu Muhammadan riots.

35. The Desamata, of the 7th May, in its article on the "Hindu Muhammadan riots" after reciting the facts of the case, observes:--The District Collector remarked in his report to the Government that though the Muhammadans were the first offenders the Hindus were mainly responsible for the riot. In his opinion the Hindus offended in having turned back setting the idol down instead of moving on with the procession quietly under the directions of the Tahsildar, when they were pelted with stones. The Police in their attempts to save life killed two people and it is a matter for pity why early measures were not taken to prevent the disturbance. The paper does not agree with the Collector in holding that the Hindus are responsible for this riot. Experience shows that fanaticism in religious matters once excited is not easily suppressed. In its opinion the cause of the riot lies in the erection of a mosque in a place where it might give room for friction and it cannot be expected that under a shower of stones the Hindus could meekly put up with a disturbance to their religious procession conducted legally.

III. Legislation.

Music in front of mosques and temples.

42. The Jarida-i-Rozgar, of the 12th May, regrets that the Hindus and Muhammadans have been for some time constantly at loggerheads in connection with cow-killing and the playing of music in temples and near mosques--and this is not a matter to be overlooked. It adds that, in this connection, it is understood that the Hon'ble Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar is about to move a resolution in the Legislative Council requesting the Government to appoint a committee of experienced Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians who might present their views on the questi n to enable the Government to frame rules thereon. The paper agrees with the idea of the resolution of the honourable Mmeber and hopes that all the Members of Government will approve of it. It says that regard should be had to the following points while disposing of the case: (1) What has been the procedure hitherto observed in Madras under which there resulted no disputes, and what are the causes of the disputes now? (2) What have been the judgments hitherto given by the High Court, and what have been the orders of Government hitherto? (3) What is the procedure in other parts of India? (4) What is the practice obtaining in Hyderabad by which 80 per cent. of the Hindu subjects are happy and contented? (5) From the point of view of the Hindu religion music and singing is necessary but from the point of view of Islam it is unlawful.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The condition of Indians in foreign countries.

46. The Lokopakari, of the 5th May, observes:--The people of our country migrate to foreign countries,

unable to find out a living in their own land owing to their ignorance. But once they reach these countries, they are treated as slaves by the White inhabitants there, who are British by race. The attention of our Government has more than once been drawn to the deplorable condition of our people in the colonies; but it has not had any effect. Recently a question was asked in the House of Commons on behalf of a European, who was imprisoned by the Japanese Government on proper grounds, and as a result thereof the British Government has called for a report from the Japanese Government about this matter. But this very British Government does not pay any attention to the hardships daily suffered by its subjects, the Hindus, in British colonies. Is this justice?

Indians and the higher appointments.

47. The Swadesamitran, of the 8th May, quotes the Englishman to have stated that, if the Indians were given the higher appointments and allowed to have a share in the administration of the country, it would lead very soon to the destruction of the Indian Empire itself and observes:--We do not know on what authority this statement is made. It may be true that many Asiatic kingdoms did not last long. But the history of Japan has proved that even an Asiatic kingdom can live an active existence in modern inironments. The Indians are, like the Japanese, surrounded by modern environments. As a matter of fact the Indians have a greater touch with the Europeans than even the Japanese; for they have been working hand in hand with the Europeans for the last 200 years in the matter of administration and trade. Even if the number of Englishmen in India is reduced, the British rule in India will not be lacking in British spirit. Even though

simultaneous examinations may increase the number of Indians in the service, British officials will still continue. Therefore past experience and this constant association with Englishmen have made the Indians as capable in the matter of administration as Englishmen. The history of ancient India shows that there were capable administrators even then. None can say that works of irrigation, facilities of communication or trade were neglected by the ancient kings or statesmen in India. Leaving alone ancient kings and ministers, the history of Mysore offers a striking example of the administrative capability of Native Princes. So the statement of the Englishman that the administration of the country will suffer, if Indians were given higher appointments, is entirely wrong.

40. A leader in the Keralasanchari, of the 7th May,

Kovur riot.

referring to the recent riot between Muhammadans and Hindus at Kovur in Nellore district, remarks that the construction of a new mosque in the midst of Hindu quarters against the wish and in spite of the objection of the residents of the locality being found to be the cause of the fracas, Government have called for a detailed report as to how the mosque came to be built on the site. Religious fanaticism is the cause of the frequent conflict between the two communities. Although the educated members of each community maintain friendly relations with each other, it is to be regretted that on ceremonial occasions the illiterate portion of each come into conflict. It has therefore become an urgent necessity to issue an order prohibiting the erection of new temples or mosques even on private lands without the previous anction of the local authorities who should take care to enquire into local conditions before issuing license.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 24th MAY 1913.

No. 21 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS

1. Foreign Politics

The South African Immigration Bill.

1. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 18th May, writes:--"The South African Union Assembly passed the second reading of the Immigration Bill........ ....The situation is critical. Mr. Fisher's threat would however have no influence on the Indian community every member of which has the making in him or her of a hero or heroine. The Union Government has declared war against the Indian settlers who will surely fight to the last ditch in defence of the honour of their motherland just as resolutely, bravely, and fearlessly as they did in the past".

Writing on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 21st May, says:--"The Indians are helots in the empire. The elementary rights of British citizenship are to be denied them in His Majesty's dominions in South Africa. To them British citizenship is to be but a high sounding mockery. What else does the African Immigration Bill which has passed the stage of second reading in the Union house of Assembly indicate? The little justice the Indian immigrants could hope for in law courts is no longer possible. In future their appeals against injustice

are to be heard by Immigration Boards acting under the direction of the Minister whose direction shall be final. Any person the Minister considers undesirable on economic or national grounds is to be shut out from the Transvaal. Thus the rights of 300 millions of British citizens will be adjudicated by a single Minister, who is prepared to meet the 'passive resistance' which is sure to ensue by introducing a Bill alluding to Asiatics in plain language and asserting the paramount power of the Union Government. The long expected benefits have after all ended in this fall from the frying pan into the fire. The South African Government gave ample promises of justice to Indians and the passive resisters put faith in them, but now that these promises have been rudely falsified by the introduction of the inhuman measure, let not Indians be frightened away from their fight for justice. What would surprise Indians much is the impudent assertion of the author of the Bill that the inhuman measure will satisfy the Indian Government. It may or may not give satisfaction to the Indian Government. But it has certainly insulted Indians who will with one voice protest against it and show their indignation. If the Transvaal Government has no sense of honour, let them not suppose that the Indians have no honour to maintain and protect. If it is honourable for them to oppress and harass Indians, it is not honourable for Indians to put up with the oppression and harassment. Let them revive the passive resistance with redoubled vigour and make violated promises speak for themselves. Let the Union Government say that it would not allow itself to be defied, but let the Indians put faith in British justice and honour, and say louder that Indians are not to allow

themselves to be defied by the Acts framed for them by the selfishly-governed colony. If the so-called civilization of the British tolerates the iniquities inflicted on their law-abiding fellow-citizens of the empire in the East, that civilization has not long to live, for Divine justice is surer and sterner than Roman or British justice; and Nemesis will sooner or later overtake those who mercilessly tread upon the rights and privileges of unoffending Indians".

I. Foreign Politics.

18. The Andhraprakasika, of the 17th May, has a leader on the "Indians abroad" in which it deplores the indescribable hardships which the Indians are subjected to in the colonies. Though much good has been expected from the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's visit to the colonies and his interview with the ministers there, we find that the African Emigration Bill was introduced into the Union Parliament and a single member only had the courage to throw out a hint advocating the removal of the said disabilities of the Indians. This was sufficient to infuriate the Minister, Mr. Fisher, who vehemently opposed the removal of any of the slightest of the disabilities. Of course the Bill will soon be passed into law. So far about British South Africa. In the Federated Malay States if the coolies, suffering from singular hardships, stop from service in any estate, they are shut out from employment in any other estate in pursuance of a common compact subsisting among the managers of the various estates. After a fruitless search for employment elsewhere, the

Indians abroad.

coolies are forced to return to the service of their former employers. The paper says that this sort of treatment which the Indians receive in the colonies may have been encouraged by the attitude of British ministers at home. Else their continued silence at this iniquitous treatment cannot be explained. Therefore the paper prays that the responsible heads of Government will adopt proper measures of relief and justify their assertions that the Indian subjects are entitled to equal regard with the other subjects of the empire.

The South African Immigration Bill.

19. Writing on this subject, the Sadhvi, of the 20th May, observes:--"After all the prospects held out and the promises made have dwindled into nothingness. The second reading of the African Emigration Bill has been passed in the Union Assembly without a voice being raised to remove the disabilities of the Indians resident in that part of His Majesty's dominions. Mr. Duncan, be it stated to his credit, objected to the bar scheduled in the Bill against appeals by the oppressed and down-trodden Indians and expressed his pious wish that the provisions with reference to Indians already in that country might be made less drastic. The wily Minister of the Interior, Mr. Fisher made a clear exposition of his attitude towards the Indian immigrants. He says that he dislikes the idea of an appeal to the Imperial Government in South Africa's own affair. This evidently means that rhe Indian in that colony must put up, with a word of murmur, with the iniquities which the autocratic ministers of the South African Government are pleased to place them under. The melancholy and destructive feature of the Bill is the assurance of the Imperial Government to set their

seal of approval to the Bill, if it is successfully carried through the Union Legislature. There never was and it is doubtful if there will ever be a champion of the Indian cause in the Union Parliament. Then what reason is there to doubt the success of the Bill so far as it refers to the voiceless Indians whom the most civilized Government in the world seduced to that colony? When Mr. Gokhale visited South Africa in November last, he was greeted with a universal welcome and mayors and senators came out to feast the honourable guest on airy generalities and empty platitudes. One senator even went the length to declare that some measure would be introduced into the next session of the Union Parliament to remove the disabilitieies of the Indians. Those words have now crystallized into the astounding remarks which the Minister of the Interior let fall from his lips the other day. No law that curtails the liberties of the Indians in South Africa should be accorded the acceptance and approval of the Imperial Government whose incorporated subjects Indians have the honour to claim to be. The snubbing-for-the-pains policy of the Home Government should now cease and the Union Government must be plainly told that the unnecessary harassment of Indians should be stopped altogether and that Indians by the indissoluble tie of loyalty and obedience to the British throne have earned their title to an equality of treatment in any part of His Majesty's dominions. Then and then alone the chief ends of a civilized Government shall have been met. Then and then India's place under the British Paramountcy shall have been clearly defined".

VI. Miscellaneous:

31. The Swadesamitran, of the 13th May, comments as follows upon the condition of the Indians in Canada:-

The condition of the Indians in Canada.

We understand that the Japanese and Chinese are given a better treatment in Canada than the Indians. If a Japanese gentleman produces a cheque or hundu worth fifty dollars, he will be entitled to land in British Columbia, one of the Provinces in Canada, with his wife and children and a Chinese gentleman can do so, if he pays a tax of 500 dollars. But the Indians, who have already settled in Columbia, are not allowed to have their wives and children with them. What injustice! Why should Canada, which is a portion of the British Empire, be so cruel to India, which is another part of the same Empire? Unless the British Government admits that the powers it has in connection with the Colonies exist only in name, it is the duty of the Foreign Office to see that the Indians are allowed to enjoy as many privileges in the Colonies as are enjoyed by the Colonials in India. We hope that our Government will soon devote its attention to this matter.

32. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th May, observes:--At the annual gathering of the All India Muslim League recently held at Lucknow, its main object was declared to be the acquisition of a proper form of swaraj for India and this has surprised the Englishmen. The London Times, in commenting upon this, remarks that this change in the attitude of the Muhammadans, agreeably to the aims and aspirations of the Hindus, is due to the British Government having stood aloof during the Turko-Balkan war and writes as follows:--"The British Government has been recently devoting special attention to the

The union of the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

rights to which the Muhammadans in India are separately entitled and in return for this these Muhammadans are bound to see that nothing is done to mar the confidence of the Government in their loyalty. This confidence has recently been shaken by the acts of certain rash men among them. We are prepared to treat with respect the likes and dislikes of these Muhammadans. But this will not be easy, unless the leaders among them show a better sense of their responsibility than they do now", These statements clearly show that the British statesmen wish to pacify the Indian Muhammadans as much as possible. But all the same the British administrators will not like to be led by these Muhammadans in their foreign policy and even the London Times admits this. So we cannot see what connection the Balkan war has with the recent change in the attitude of these Muhammadans towards their Hindu brethren. The idea that the gulf between the two communities should be bridged over was engaging the attention of the leaders on either side even before the Italian and the Balkan wars. The Muhammadans have now realised that their keeping aloof from their Hindu brethren wouldnot do any good either to themselves or to their country and they have therefore decided to work hand in hand with the Hindus. While every one having the welfare of India at his heart including the British should naturally feel gratified at this decision, we are surprised to see that attempts are being made to perpetuate the old state of things.

The condition of Indians in South Africa.

33. The Swadesamitran, of the 16th May, writes:--It looks as if those, who expected that the condition of the Indians in South Africa will be changed for the better by the law proposed to be passed by the Union Parliament, will be disappointed. Mr. Fisher, the mover of the Bill, which

forms the basis of this law, is reported to have stated in the Union Parliament that, if the Indians resort to the method of passive resistance once again, certain provisions will be added in this Bill specially for their sake and that he hoped that the Indians would not allow the authority of the Government to be ignored like that. So there appears to be a general diffidence as to whether this Bill would give entire satisfaction to the Indians. After all, the demands of men like Mr. Gandhi are very moderate and yet the whites of South Africa continue to be giving trouble to the Indians, as their object is to root out the latter from the colony and not to help them in any way. Though the Government of India and the British Government often say that they sympathise fully with the Indians in South Africa, they do not seem to be in a position to give any relief. So we will only be knocking against a rock by expressing our grievances to the Government.

Sir William Meyer.

34. The Sasilkeha, of the 16th May, in a small article on "Sir William Mayer" congratulates him on his appointment to the post of Financial Member in the Viceregal Council and favourably-£ refers to his administrative capacity and sympathy towards India. The paper hopes that he may one day rise to be a Lieutenant-Governor.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 31ST MAY 1913.

No. 22 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS

Home Administration.

(e) Local and Municipal

The Nellore Municipality.

3. The Muhammadan, of the 26th May, writes:--"We publish a letter from a Nellore correspondent which deals with the representation of the Muhammadans in its Municipal Council. That the Muhammadan community has always been shifted to the background and more of its rights are daily being snatched is a fact which it will be futile to attempt to disguise. The difficulties under which the Muhammadans of Nellore labour are enumerated in our correspondent's letter, and they strike us as being unusually hard and trying. It is really deplorable that the number of Muhammadans in the town is far greater in proportion to the number of men chosen to represent it in an assembly which decides questions that directly concern the well-ebing of its town inhabitants.That the number of Muhammadans on the Council should come down to one solitary individual is a case that is at once gloomy and disappointing. Here is an instance where justice that was our due has not been accorded, but whatever was has been snatched away. Municipal Councils that are the

training grounds for local self-government present such instances of monopoly of an unwholesome kind, and what our correspondent rightly calls the 'Vakil raj' If we are going to be swayed and ruled by the autocratic 'Vakil creed' we will have none of it. The Hindu community, which is being credited with so much education and advancement, offers us the initiative to be greedy and selfish. The case of the Nellore Municipality presents a glaring example where all fellow-feeling has been sacrificed on the altar of party spirit, for the extinction of which every true Indian ought to strive".

The strike on the Madras and Southern Maharatta Railway.

7. The Hindu, of the 29th May, writes:--"The almost complete dis-organisation of one of the most important public services of the country only serves to emphasise the grave responsibility that lies on the heads of those who are, whether primarily or ultimately, responsible for a strike of the unprecedented magnitude of the present one on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A strike on this Railway is sufficient to isolate Madras, so far as traffic is concerned, from the rest of India except the places due south which are served by the South Indian Railway--owing to the curious partitioning of the lines of the now defunct Madras Railway. Trains that lead to nowhere are particularly inconvenient at the present season, when there is a particularly heavy traffic in perishable goods as fruit, etc., and an equally heavy passenger traffic owing to this being the season of marriages..................In our opinion, the public has too long put up with the vagaries of the Railay service which it was perhaps hitherto inclined to take too much as a matter of course. On the merits of the strike

we do not propose, until things are much clearer than they seem to be at present, to offer any opinion. We have striven to lay before our readers, as far as we have been able to gather them, the respective attitudes of the Railway authorities and of the strikers. The latter, we notice without comment, seem to have organised themselves and to have made their preparations on a scale which is certainly surprising in a country like India. We do not base this conclusion on the assertions of the strikers themselves, but rather on the information which is available regarding the spread of the strike. The grievances of the men seem to be, insufficient wages as a recompense for work of a most wearing kind, the oppression of some officials and certain other grievances which affect the dignity of the Trades Union to which they belong.................So far as we have been able to make out, the official attitude is that the men have no grievances at all; but we may be pardoned if we regard this rather as a pious hope than a statement of fact. Meanwhile the public, the long-suffering, patient public, which crowds to suffocation in third class compartments, suffers. On behalf of that public, we are entitled to demand how long the present impasse is to continue. The strike is already three days old and it has every possibility of spreading in the immediate future whatever may be the possibilities of the Company officials starving the men into submission. The continuation of the strike for a few more days would render a situation already exceedingly unpleasant absolutely intolerable. It is true the Company does what it can. It starts trains which, it wisely warns intending passengers, may not reach anywhere at all. It has been and is trying to replace the men who have gone on strike. And here we notice a fresh danger to the Public. Owing to the inexperience or

incapacity of the new men, a collision has been narrowly averted in at least one place..................Failing all these alternatives, the only thing to do, and we make the suggestion in all seriousness, is for the Government to interfere. The Railway Board is not a body of particular brilliance. It has been warned of the impending strike and, so far as we can judge, has taken no effective action on it. The question of most urgent moment is, what is the next step? It is quite time that the Government took the matter in hand and deputed a special officer or committee to make a proper enquiry and to adjudicate between the Company and the men. Such a committee would command confidence and appears to us the only solution of the present impasse. When the urgency of the moment is over, it would be time to consider what further steps should be taken in the way of legislation to obviate such strikes in the future".

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 30th May, says:--"The situation on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway remains yet unchanged, the only change being that the men are more resolved and the authorities are also more resolved. That the signallers have struck that the drivers have struck, that the Stationmasters have struck, is the burden of the song. Now that the strike has come there is no use asking whether notice was given of a strike by the strikers or not; whether there are grievances or not.....................So far as the strike is intended to better the position of Indians in the servicem and so far as the strike is spontaneous, public sympathy will go to the hard-working men who have been driven to this very extreme step by their unbearable suffering. We hope that the Railway Company will at once go to their

relief, considering that even unto this day, when like wild fire the strike is spreading from department to department, educated Indians on the line have held firm. The Stationmaster and the Assistant Stationmaster have not struck yet. What mark of appreciation to this faithful service can the Railway Company show except by reviving the eight hours duty and increasing the pay to meet the higher cost of living? To say that porters and the pointsmen struck work owing to the appeals and teachings of Rogers or Englekin is to say what no one will believe......................If Mr. Anderson has no sympathy for the porters and pointsmen, the Indian public will have no sympathy for him, especially as this is a spontaneous outbreak, unconnected with the Amalgamated Society......................We have absolutely no concern about Mr. Anderson and his one hundred thousand subordinates having a week's or month's tug-of-war, but in their anxiety to appear superb in the eyes of the spectators neither should be permitted to be irresponsible. There is as much justification in a Railway Company running two trains against each other as for the strikers to throw stones or belabour the blackleg or the new recruit. The Railway Company should not try to impress on the public that they can manage their lines without the assistance of their men; neither should the men insist that the Railway Company shall not work on without them, or with the aid of any one else except them. Between the quarrels of the Railway and their employees, it is His Majesty's subjects and His Majesty's mail that are exposed to danger".

(k) General.

Racial distinction in hospitals.

8. In a leader under this heading, the Indian Patriot, of the 27th May, writes:- "Having appealed to the Government with success for fair and humane treatment to Indian prisoners in our jails, we think, we may hopefully appeal to Government now for fair and humane treatment to the Indian inmates of our hospitals. Of all the places under Government control and supervision one would least expect the existence of any disability for any class of God's creatures in a place which is nearest to theother world from whose borne no traveller returns. In a hospital where medical aid is distributed to the sick, Government must certainly never tolerate any such disability............. In the course of a small article it is not possible to refer to several such small things which do exist to warn off the respectable poor from the hospital. But we must refer to the officers' quarters in the Madras General Hospital, on the doors of which are writ large the words racial distinction. A small room and a narrow lavatory make up the 'Native' officers' quarters, which look deserted and monotonous: ~~and~~ a 'native' who can afford to go to the officers' quarters will find enough in the room to make him sick. He is accustomed to better rooms and better furniture, and if he can get better medical aid in the hospital, it is at the expense of enduring the strangeness of the room and the ~~pre~~ poverty and neglect of the surroundings. The contrast between the native officers' quarters and the European officers' quarters is most marked, and to an Indian, very revoltingly so. There will be justification for such marked difference between the European officers' quarters are ~~intenede~~

intended for high class Europeans and Indian officers' quarters for the lower middle class. And then the charges they have to pay will also be different. That is not so. Both pay equally. Indians of means go to the hospital simply to command the expert medical aid available there, are thrust into those hospital adaptations of the Black Hole. They would be willing to pay even more than Europeans if they can be accommodated in the European quarters.

"There is as much justification in Government maintaining a European quarter specially luxurious and a native quarter without any luxuries as in a Railway Company maintaining two kinds of first class rolling stock, one for Europeans specially provided, and other for Indian, unprovided with any modern conveniences although the same rate of fare is collected. We sincerely hope that Sir Harold Stuart's attention will be drawn to this officers' quarters scandal, where the sufferers are not the poor, but the rich and the educated, who are bred up from the cradle to certain inevitable luxury without which they can never be happy....................But Indians who resort to the hospital are not all mud-pot householders, and simply because the General Hospital provides better vessels to drink water or milk, we are sure the lowest of the lower classes will not revel in getting ill to go to hospital. In the General Hospital the quarters for the nurses are better situated and better maintained than native officers' quarters, where sick men are provided for. There is a story of how the nurses' quarters were really the quarters intended for the native officers" quarters, how when the rooms were all completed

and ready for occupation, they were found to be too good for 'natives', and now they were then handed over to the nurses. If this is true, it will only be in keeping with the spirit in the hospital that provided mud pot for the 'native' patient and glass tumbler for the 'Anglo-Indian'.....................It is time, we think, that the hospitals engage the attention of Sir Harold Stuart now that the jails have been disposed of--not. however, to the entire satisfaction of jail experts like Mr. Kesava Pillai".

In writing further on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 30th May, says:--"We referred some time ago to the very marked difference between the native officers' quarters and the European officers' quarters. We desire to further go into the subject, so as to attract the attention of the Government. The native officers' quarters are not in the main building. This is a small structure erected near the sheds where contagious diseases were hitherto treated. Why should this be so? Again, in the native officers' quarters there is no provision for ladies, whereas European officers' quarters provide for ladies. The Indian lady who would resort to the General Hospital must be content with the general wards, where, at best, they may improvise a room for her with the aid of screens and curtains. But the most atrocious fact of all is that native officers' quarters were especially built on the third story and were very well furnished, and were for some months used as officers' quarters. The Government sanctioned money to the officers' quarters on the third story. Is the Government aware of the downfall of the native and the circumstances attending the downfall? Who took upon himself the

responsibility to purge the heavenly portions of the General Hospital of the native element? The maintenance of the native officers' quarters near the sheds in a little building, and the European officers' quarters in a well-provided luxuriously fitted-up building comes to this. If the Hon'ble Mr. P.S. Sivaswami Aiyar should to-morrow seek admission into the General Hospital he will be put downstairs near the shed. We ask the Government to make an enquiry into the mysterious downfall of the native officers' quarters from the third story ~~of~~ to near the sheds, and the invasion of the building specially sanctioned for that purpose by the nurses".

Indians in the medical service.

9. In an article under the heading "The pariahs in the medical service", the Indian Patriot, of the 27th May, says:--"Indians in the medical service are perpetually bound down to the two hundred rupees grade except a favoured few who may hope to rise to five hundred, and there is absolutely no other prospect in the service. The line is very rigidly drawn between the Indian Medical Service and the Civil Assistant Surgeons. The Military service is superior. No Indians in India can ever get into their service. The maximum pay of the Civil Surgeon is less than the minimum pay of the military service man. Indian Medical Colleges are only maintained as agencies to recruit indentured coolies for service in the zone of medical relief. Indian graduates are forced to be subordinates all through their career, subordinate to every boy-Doctor that comes from England, who has not the knowledge of the Indian, the experience of the Indian, and who has yet to earn both by experimenting on the patients of the hospital--a kind of practical course ....Unless Indians go up to England, they

can never reach the superior service in the Medical Department. Between the superior and the subordinate service in the Medical department, there is the yawning gulf of injustice, surging with instances of merit suppressed and opportunities withheld. There is another dark page in the history of Indians in the Indian Medical Service, their early resignations owing to lack of opportunities".

10. The Indian Patriot, of the 29th May, observes:--"It is time, we think, that the attention of the public is directed towards the false value attached to higher education in India. Whether due to real unequipment or to useless teaching, or to some unknown, incomprehensible reason, our boys who distinguish themselves in our institutions have no opportunities to rise high in the service. Why this should be so, whether there is any inherent weakness in the educational institutions in the country, and whether that weakness, if any could not be effaced by the employment of the very costly and what is considered very expert agency of education, are all matters that must be seriously settled. In Madras, for instance, we have an Engineering College. The Most brilliant student begins as a temporary overseer or a temporary Upper Subordinate, and by the time he could creep up to the Ececutive Engineering rung, he has to see many young English youths coming from England and sweeping over his head................The same story comes from the Forest College. Somehow it is the European that comes from England that is a District Forest officer in two years; an Indian graduate, trained in the highest College of Forestry in India, can never hope to rise so quickly and to such a height. The wild echoes from the medical service must still be

Indians in the public Services.

ringing in the ears of the readers of the Indian Patriot. No medical man, however distinguished his career, can get over two hundred rupees a month. We have a police school, which again, is gone wrong somewhere, for while the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, both officers of the same status, begin there, it is the Assistant Superintendent of Police that hurries up to be acting Superintendent and Superintendent, whereas the Deputy Superintendent is down below. There are only two explanations of this, namely, either that the Government is intent on maintaining racial distinction, which we do not believe, or that the educational institutions in India are very inferior to those in England, which we are forced to believe.................. We cannot hand over our boys, on whom we spend our fortune, and build our hopes, who develop into very intelligent men, to be pariahs of every service. With what a pang ought the Indian Civil Assistant to have seen the new Indian Medical officer making mistake after mistake in the hospital, and yet drawing higher salary, exercising greater authority. This perpetual source of discontent must cease in the interests of every service. One cannot expect British spirit from a service which is built on injustice, slavery and racial distinction. British spirit in a Forest officer, Civil Assistant Surgeon, Engineer or Deputy Superintendent of Police would bring about instantaneously several resignations, and it is better that such a spirit does not exist. It is very essential that the Government should know that an educated and cler man cannot see a boy exercising authority over him without discontent. To remove their discontent it is very essential that Government must insist on a better return for the princely salary paid to European professors of Colleges

and Inspectors of Schools. If they cannot elevate our school to a higher level, the salary paid to them can be better utilised to send our youths to England, whence they may return to find their proper place--of course taking it for granted that the drama of the Indian Medical Service will not be enacted where Indians are somehow resigning after a few years.................. As it is we are of opinion that our educational institutions and our boys are well fitted for such purpose; but Government do not think so, it is very necessary that its attention should be given very earnestly to the question whether it will redound to its prestige to maintain toy colleges, which serve no other use than to provide faithful maistries to those coming from England. ....As it is, after hundreds of years of education, with so many highly paid officers to superintend and guide our education, our educational institutions are only so many cooly emigration depots, whence our youths are taken to serve in the lower departments, without absolutely any hope of rising high".

VI. Miscellaneous

12. In a leader under the heading "Forsaken Indians" the Indian Patriot, of the 29th May, says:--"The sad story that we published yesterday, of the disabilities under which Indians suffer in Canada, must have come as a cold truth to many an enthusiastic mind in India that is never tired of hoping much from the Liberal Government in England and staunch pillars of English Liberalism who rule over various provinces of India. The story is to the effect

Indians in Canada.

that Indians are treated like cattle in the Dominion of Canada............Indians who go abroad have no Government behind their back. Our Government do not care whether they are slaves or free men. When said instances of cruelty are brought to its notice, all it will say, if it will say anything, is that emigration to such and such a country is dangerous and that Government has appointed no Protector there. In practice, it is the same whether we have a Protector or not--we are oppressed, abused, tortured, even short down. Generally the attention of Government is not at all drawn to such insignificant particulars about sufferings abroad of Indians. One Anglo-Indian paper brings the most damaging charge that the lot of Indians in South Africa or Canada is in no way worse than their lot in certain parts of India and this charge fails to ruffle the serenity of the Government. When a Gokhale brings forward a resolution for the abolition of indentured emigration, a Clarke rises up to say that it is all exaggeration, and the Bernam Wood of official hands defeats the cherished wishes of Indian patriots...................We have heard much enthusiastic brag about India being the brightest jewel in the Imperial crown and all that, but it will be better to say that India is the sewage farm of the Empire--no one wants any of us".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 7TH JUNE 1913.

No. 23 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS

I. Foreign Politics.

The South African Immigration Bill.

1. Referring to the passing of this Bill by the South African Government, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 4th June, writes:--"In moving the second reading of the Immigrants' Restriction Bill Mr. Fisher made an observation for which the Imperial Government owe an explanation to their dependencies. He said that it had been admitted by the Imperial Government that a self-governing dominion had an inherent right to determine the elements of which it should be composed.................. The principle is vicious enough in all conscience even in British dominions like Canada and it offends against all ideas of an integral empire that its component parts should have the power to exclude from their territories any class of His Majesty's subjects. We feel sure that the Imperial Government will decline to subscribe to so astounding a proposition. Evidently Mr. Fischer is misinformed about the attitude of the Imperial Government..............But if the fact should be as ~~weas~~ was stated by Mr. Fischer, the Imperial Government ought not to lose one moment in explaining their position and they must be prepared to give a like power to the dependencies also whose right to determine the elements of which they should be composed is more inherent than that of the other parts of the empire".

II. Home Administration

(h) Railways.

5. The Indian Patriot, of the 2nd June, writes:--"We have no idea of the influence and ramifications of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in India, but the Society has taken a step which is fraught with grave concern to the public, if its influence and ramifications are great; grave concern to itself if they are not great. If the strike does not spread, it would mean that the Society has no kingdom to rule, if it does succeed, India will be paralysed from one end of the country to the other. Telegrams that we publish to-day reveal the position of the Amalgamated Society in no very favourable light. There is no stir in Calcutta; there is no successful stir in the Great Indian Peninsular line, although it is true that the Guards have gone out on strike. Enthusiasts of the strike will regret the hasty action of the Society, for when the Society's order for a general strike is not obeyed, at any rate not as extensively obeyed as it ought to be in the interests of the strikers, themoral force of the Society that is as necessary in this crisis as its distribution of money, suffers a rude shock. Faith of the men in the Society will be shaken also when it is found that a most solemn order, reared up on a frantic appeal in the interests of trade unionism, remains unobeyed. The unobeyed order of the Amalgamated Society will be a more powerful call to the strikers to resume work than any words of advice of the Company................The Indian Patriot has always

The Strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

warned Indians from wrecking their cause by reckless a association with the Anglo-Indians in the Railway service whose sympathies run in quite a different direction, in almost diametrically opposite direction. The Indian Patriot has always appealed to the good sense of Indians to remain firmly loyal to the Company, for, in the absence of a thoroughly Indian Society to uphold Indian claims, the Company must for long remain their only and their powerful friend. The 'grievances' of the men, as published, lay down that an Indian's salary shall be one-fourth or one-half of the salary of the domiciled community. On such a platform creaking with the weight of distinction based on colour we are positively of opinion that Indians have no honourable place............ By their loyalty and by their unflinching stand by the Company in a time of danger the Indians in the service, we sincerely hope, have displayed their superior mental and moral equipment. They have convinced the Company that they can be relied on, that when the frantie appeal for strike goes out, the Indian is not prone to be unsettled by the charm or recklessness and irresponsibility that are always behind any strike. More powerful than the plea of justice in the removal of racial distinction in Railway service is the plea of faithfulness demanding gratitude. This plea of fidelity it is the privilege of Indians to raise now, and Mr. Anderson, who has braved one of the most ferocious strikes, will not fail to remember in his hour of triumph, the men who enabled him to triumph..............The strike is a warning to the Railways which they could not afford to neglect, namely, that they have gone long enough in the direction

of race fomentation and that they should, as business-men, and as owing a certain responsibility to the public, go by merit and reliability. The Railways own no special obligation to the domiciled community and, therefore, need not play the South African Government with its Indian servants".

Writing on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 3rd June, says:--"Our local Anglo-Indian contemporaries assure the public that the strike of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway men has fizzled out; and that the threatened strike on other railways has equally failed. Much as we should be pleased to see order restored and public convenience and trade interests suffer least, we are inclined to think that the optimism of these newspapers is not well-grounded. Elsewhere we publish telegrams which have been received since 3 A.M. this day by the officials of the Amalgamated Society, and these tell a different tale. The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway authorities have not published any circular, except their train service, which can be taken as an authoritative statement on the present situation. The uneasiness in public mind has, therefore, not been in the slightest degree relieved by unauthorised assurances in a section of the press which has already taken an attitude distinctly adverse to the strikers.............. This state of affairs must be brought to an end, and it is time that the Government called a halt to this unpleasant contest, by which the immediate sufferers are the public and business-men".

The Hindu, of the 5th June, observes:--"Whatever may be its opinion concerning the merits of the quarrel between

the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company and its servants, the public is entitled to congratulate itself on the return to normal conditions of the Railway service of this Presidency. We cannot concede the same cause for self-congratulation to any of the other parties concerned in this strike. The Company has so far succeeded, but that does not mean that the cause of the Railway authorities is necessarily the just one or that of the workmen, the reverse. In considering the attitude of the Company from the start, we must not omit to make more than a passing mention to the strenuous efforts that it has been making on behalf of the public once the strike had been declared. These efforts have met with success to such an extent that the Company is now able, without the strikers returning to work, to make a fair approximation to a normal service, so far at least as passenger traffic is concerned. The goods traffic service is still apparently in a disorganised condition and it will be some time before it becomes normal. A Railway Company's first duty is not, as is too often supposed and acted upon, to itself, but to the public and any efforts that the Company may make and has made to obviate inconvenience to the public will always command sympathy.......... The Company, as common carriers, owe a duty primarily, as we have said, to the public, next to its employees, and last, and in this instance least, to the obtrusively clamorous pockets of its shareholders in London. Judged by this standard, we cannot but say the Company has been found wanting. It knew a strike was coming. Its obvious duty was to prevent it by any possible means, instead of which it refused to look facts in the face, and that it

made huge efforts to restore a dislocated traffic to the normal does not serve to justify its attitude at the beginning. For all the inconvenience that the public was put to during the last week we must hold the remissness of the Company, in not even attempting to consider the men's grievances, responsible............ Some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries in their unreasoning attacks on the strikers in the attempt to support the Railway management wholesale, sought to create internecine trouble and racial bitterness among them and the public, by threatening the domiciled community that their places will, in future, be given to ex-soldiers and 'submissive' Indians. It is some consolation that these tactics have to that extent failed, and we are glad the insinuations and suggestions have been resented by the strikers. Turning to the strikers, we cannot entirely absolve them from criticism. Their work is of a most wearing kind and their conditions of service undoubtedly hard. They have many just grievances which, let us point out, are not the less just now because the strike has failed. But the strikers have undoubtedly acted with some amount of precipitation, though for this we would hardly like to blame the leaders whose hands were forced by the Bangalore menials' strike..............This leads us to the attitude that the Government has been fit to adopt, We do not desire to characterise it in any strong terms, besides which we understand that members of Government in their individual capacity have been annoyed by the strike quite as much as the rest of the public. But we must say we cannot understand this degree of supineness in a matter of such urgency, proceeding from a Government

at the head of which is Lord Pentland whom recent experiences of strikes in England ought to have stirred into rapid action in the instance. And yet, the only thing that seems to have been done so far in response to the urgent calls for interference from the public is the reply that 'the matter will receive due attention in the Public Works Department'. Now 'due attention' in a public department is a process compared with which the work in Dicken's circumlocution department, would be a marvel of celerity and quick despatch and this 'due attention' is all that the public is promised! A few months or years hence, a report will duly be issued that there has been a strike and that it received 'due attention' Meanwhile, the public can only bear, suffer in patience and marvel at the exceeding toughness of red tape. We believe it is not even yet too late for the Government to go into the whole question and consider the means of preventing such strikes in the future. The Railway Board is in a state which is more or less moribund. It is, therefore, an urgent necessity to consider the creation of a new department of State with powers adequate to its responsibilities, which would deal with industrial troubles as they arise and which would roughly correspond to the Board of Trade in England".

In a further article on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 6th June, remarks:--"As we have said, the question at issue is not one of testing the relative strength. On the other hand, it is eminently one of restoring order and peace in the Railway administration. It is out of question that the hundreds out now on strike should be for ever stranded. The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway administration will become extremely unpopular.

Some via medium must be sought by which the Agent and these men might come to an understanding. The public has an interest in this question, and we trust they would move in the matter. By the way, we might well ask what that somnolent body of Railway experts, known as the Railway Board, is doing? One of the duties of this body is to mediate in case of strikes and see to the restoration of order in the administration. Mr. Robertson, to whom it owes its existence, has dwelt in his report on this aspect of its duty. From Madras to Simla it seems to be a far cry and the cool heights of Simla are too good to be exchanged, for however short a time, for the sweating atmosphere of benighted Madras".

Lessons from the strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

6. In an article on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 5th June, writes: "In spite of the specifyings of Engleken and Yardley in the Commercial Hotel and in the presence of uncles, aunts and nieces of the strikers, the whistle of the starting train and the tapal on the table must convince the public of the failure of the strike. To expect to bring down to its knee a Company that would not be brought down a week ago when there was a complete deadlock is mere foolishness............. It is no use claiming victory when driven out of the battle-field; there is no use saying that ten thousand hands are out when the mail train comes in time. As for goods trains, the European merchants are prepared to suffer along with the Company, and we suppose the first goods train that starts will be full of the European merchants' goods......................So long as there is racial

distinction in the Railway, and the Anglo-Indians in the service are prepared to hold to it--even to rebel against the Company if an Indian is appointed Chief Guard--we hold that there is absolutely no use in the joining of hands between the Indians and the domiciled community. The Railway Company maintain racial distinction. An Indian Stationmaster cannot rise to more than Rs.50, except under exceptional circumstances. All important stations have Anglo-Indian officials. The Company have more confidence in them than in Indians. If tomorrow the barrier of racial distinction should cease and the Railway Company resolve that, so far as salary is concerned, there shall be no difference between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian, and that both the Indian ticket-collector and the Anglo-Indian ticket-collector shall get Rs.15/- a month, there will be a commotion in the camp of the domiciled community.......................
In the strike that has just failed, the porters and the pointsmen joined spontaneously, rebelling not against capital, but against poverty, and Mr. Anderson, we sincerely hope, will look into their case with consideration and sympathy..................The developments of this strike point to the possibility of an All-India Society of Indian Railway Servants which must dictate to the Railways to remove racial distinction. Such a society, if formed, will be tremendously successful, and when it proclaims a strike, public sympathy will flow of them. The lesson that public-spirited Indians should learn from the shattered fabric of this strike is to form an Indian society, with a view to break down race-distinction. Our loyalty to Government forbids us to combine against racial distinction in Government Service, but we have absolutely nothing to do with the Railway capitalists".

8. Referring to the order of the Government of Assam, calling on the Amrita Bazar Patrika to furnish a security of Rs.5,000 the Indian Patriot, of the 6th June, writes:--

The Amrita Bazar Partika and the Press Act.

"That the Amrita Bazar Patrika should have been called upon to deposit security under the New Press Act is yet another instance of the extent to which oppression in the name of Press Act can go. We do not mean to say that the Patrika does not make mistakes: we are even prepared to say that it went a little headstrong in its criticisms of the Jagatashi Ashram case. But that the Amrita Bazar Patrika should ever be mistaken by the authorities as doing anything to bring the Government into contempt shows the absolute lack of imagination on the part of the authorities..........The news of its being caught in the meshes of the Press Act will create a painful impression throughout the length and bredth of India, when it is recalled that Lord Carmichael is the Governor of the Province from whose capital the Payrika comes thundering every morning".

I. Foreign Politics.

16. Referring to the condition of the Indians in South Africa, the Desamata of the 28th May, in its leader writes:--The condition of the Indians in the colonies is very deplorable as compared with that of the other nations of the world. As regards the other countries any indignity offered or eveil done to their subjects

Indians in South Africa.

residing in a foreign territory is highly resented by the mother State and measures are taken by it to safeguard the honour of their subjects. For instance, Japan is raising a loud protest against the attempt of the Americans to prevent the influx of the Japanese into their country. An Englishman punished in Korea for treason against that State is evoking the keenest sympathies of his countrymen on his behalf. Several members in the English Parliament are making enquiries if the punishment dealt to another Englishman in Japan for theft was just. A slight offered by some boys to some Germans travelling through France has provoked Germany to assume a martial attitude and it was with difficulty that war was averted. But, lamentably, the condition in India is otherwise. It is not proper that both the Imperial and Indian Governments should keep aloof when their Indian subjects in the colonies are treated worse than street dogs. The passive resistance, offered by the Indians in the colonies against the continued ill-treatment to which they were subjected, has resulted in a promise of reform. But the reliance placed upon it is hopelessly violated, now that the altered legislation renders their condition far worse. According to it, the Indians seem to have lost the existing privilege of appealing to the Imperial Government in South Africa affairs. An Indian emigrating to South Africa should give satisfactory proof to the officers there of his knowledge in any European language. To crown all, is added the standing disgrace that the Indian wife ceases to be a wife and is looked upon as a concubine. Indian womanhood has received a dagger thrust, and the chastity of Indian women a poisonous recipe. There can be no greater ingratitude among South Africans than to

kick away the ladder when once they have reached the height by framing prohibitive measures against the Indians whose industry served to convert their parched desert into a smiling country. Now at least, will the Imperial and Indian Governments rouse themselves into activity to protect their Indian subjects? Let all Indians commence constitutional agitation and convince the world as well as the South Africans that they deserve equal honour with the rest of humanity.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

Seshavataram v. Kennedy.

19. Referring to the conviction of Mr. Kennedy, Railway Assistant Engineer, for assault against Mr. Seshavataram, a pleader of Kovvur, by the Acting Collection of Kistna, the Desamata, of the 28th May, remarks:--Mr. Kennedy's idea might have been that large salaried English officers in India have an inherent right to treat the natives as brutes. The punishment by courts of justice of such officers, who are puffed up with the pride of authority by which they are prompted to commit offences, will have a salutary effect. Mr. Kennedy ignored the fact that all His Majesty's subjects are entitled to the same measure of justice. He even failed to tender an apology to the wronged party on sober reflection. The paper hopes that Mr. Jenkins who tried this case will properly admonish the Assistant Engineer.

(h) Railways.

Tge Strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

24. With reference to the strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, the Swadesamitran, of the 28th May, observes:--From the time this strike was begun, neither the passenger nor the goods trains have been running regularly and there has been an inordinate delay in the articles sent by merchants reaching their destination. The Agent has notified that passengers would be well advised in postponing their journey for a few days and perhaps a suggestion will soon be made to the merchants that they should postpone sending their articles also for a few days. Thus both the ordinary passengers and the merchants are suffering great inconvenience and loss on account of this strike. There is no other body in India which is disliked by the people so much as the Railway Companies. The Indian merchants and people use the railw ays only because they have no other help. Even the servants of these railways, especially if they are Indians, are made to do the heaviest work for the smallest salary and no attention is paid to their grievances. We do not know what is the real cause of the present strike. Still the fact that the porters have been pacified by an increase of Re.1 in their monthly salary shows that they had been poorly paid till now. We need not say that the sooner the chances of strikes like this are avoided the better it is for the people. So the time has come for the Government to appoint an Arbitration Board to settle the differences which may arise from time to time between these companies and its servants. A rule should also be made that the decision of this Board will be binding on both the parties.

Writing on the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th May, says:--It is now the duty of the Government to bring the strike to an end. It will not be wise in saying that it cannot interfere, as the strike is the result of a dispute between a private company and its servants. No one has a right to cause serious inconvenience to lakhs of people. The Government will not be justified in standing by and seeing the people put to loss by the negligence and incapability of the Railway Companies. It will naturally take some time for these companies to settle their differences with their servants, and it is not fair on the part of the Government to allow the people to suffer great hardships till then. If the Railway Board instituted by Government has no power to interfere and set matters right on occasions like this, whatever other powers it may have are of no practical value. If the Government will only interfere and restore order for the present, it may take its own time to formulate measures for preventing such strikes in the future.

The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd June, observes:-

The Strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

There is still much delay in the traffic on this railway. The strikers say that the strike will soon spread to Bombay, Calcutta and other places also and that they can hold on for any length of time. But the Railway authorities assure the public that there is no truth in this and that the train service will be resumed as usual in two or three days. Fortunately the strike does not

seem to have spread to other places. We cannot help sympathising with the company at this ~~unn~~ juncture. But it cannot do its business with the help of men from the military and other departments of Government for a long time. In view of the serious inconvenience caused to the public, the company would do well to send for the representatives of the strikers and redress their real grievances, especially those of the Indian workmen. It is clear that it is some Anglo-Indians who have dragged the Indian workmen into this strike and made them lose their income. It is men belonging to the Anglo-Indian community who have established the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and there is no doubt that the strike is being kept on only as a result of the active efforts of the members of this society. The Railway Companies in India used to employ only Anglo-Indians in the higher appointments under them, and they will perhaps begin to consider now whether they cannot give these appointments to the Indians. The Madras Railway Company is now reaping the fruits of giving every appointment, from that of ticket collector upwards to that of guard, only to the Anglo-Indians.

The Swadesamitran, of the 4th June, regrets that in response to the message from the Bangalore Trades Association seeking the intervention of the Government in this matter, the latter should have stated as usual that the subject would be dealt with in due course, and observes that, at least in view of the serious hardships suffered by the public and the trade on account of this strike, the Government should move more quickly in this matter.

The Mysore Star, of the 2nd June, writes:--Though, looking at the enormous inconvenience which the strike has caused the public all over India, we are tempted to find fault with the strikers, yet, if we consider the fact that most of them have been faithfully serving the Railway Company for the last ten, twenty and even twenty-five years without any increase in their pay, and that not a few of them are working on starvation-wages, and if, along with this, we also remember that the income of the Company continues satisfactory year after year, we cannot help sympathising with the poor strikers and denouncing the ungenerous attitude taken up by the Railway authorities. If this tug-of-war between the Company and their employees continues long the inevitable result will be immense suffering to the public and heavy loss to the Company. We, therefore, hope that the latter will soon recognise this fact and help to put an end to the present unpleasant situation by giving their employees a reasonable increase in their wages.

The strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

If we remember that it is the Eurasian and European employees that have taken the most prominent part in the present strike, it will at once become evident that the idea of resistance to authority is alien to the Indian mind and that wherever it is in evidence among Indians, it is borrowed by them from others. Though the strikers are returning to work in increasing numbers and it is likely enough that the strike will prove a failure, it is desirable that the Railway authorities should give up their unsympathetic attitude and seek to redress the grievances of their employees. This course would not only create contentment among them and hence lead to a satisfactory discharge on their part of their duties, but also avert any dangers that are likely to result if

inexperienced men are appointed in their place.

Writing on the same subject, the Vokkaligara Patrika, of the 4th June, observes that in view of the extreme inconvenience caused to the public on account of the strike, it behoves the Railway authorities to remove the discontent prevailing among their employees by giving them more liberal wages.

The Whites and the coloured races.

37. The Swadesamitran, of the 31st May, writes:--The people of the world have been divided into three classes by the Europeans, viz, the Whites, comprising all those who live in European countries and America, the Blacks, comprising those inhabiting Africa and the western and southern parts of Asia, and the Yellow race, comprising the people of China and Japan. Of these, it is the Whites that exercise the largest influence in the world and they think that they are superior to the other two races in the matter of civilisation and strength. They do not, therefore, mix with these races and the latter are not allowed to settle permanently in countries occupied by them, as is evidenced by the exclusion of the Indians from the colonies and the Japanese from California. But all the same the Whites come and settle permanently in countries occupied by the other two races and acquire large estates therein. They enjoy in the country of the coloured races the very privileges which they deny to these races in their own countries and, if this is objected to, they threaten to begin a war. First of all, the coloured races cannot avoid seeing the help

of the Whites. Turkey, Persia, Egypt, India- China-- all these countries cannot continue to exist without the help of the Europeans and therefore the Europeans have necessarily a predominating influence in these countries. It is this influence that enables them to enjoy all the privileges in these countries and yet prevent the coloured races there from settling in the countries inhabited by themselves. But Japan does not require the help of the Europeans, ~~in the~~ and it is admitted that the Japanese are equal to the Europeans in the matter of civilisation and strength. Still the Japanese are prevented from settling permanently in America. Some Europeans say that the present-day civilisation, the Christian religion and the sciences tend to convert the whole world into one family. But we see no signs to think that such a time will ever come.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 14TH JUNE 1913.

No. 24 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II, Foreign Politics

The South African Immigration Bill.

1. In a leader on this subject, the Hindu, of the 9th June, writes:--"The Union Assembly in South Africa has passed the third reading of the Immigration Bill, with an amendment permitting the wife of a monogamous marriage to enter South Africa. We are not in a position to say what view the Imperial Government would take of this 'solution' of the difficulties which South African statesmen have forced on the former. But there is little doubt of the extreme sense of insecurity which Indians now feel and of the indignation which has been aroused by the terms of the measure, The vexation has only deepened by the statement, announced with a note of triumph by Mr. Fischer, that the Imperial Government had approved generally of the Bill, and it was the consciousness of this fact that apparently induced Mr. Fischer to retort, at the end of the discussion of the second reading, that if passive resistance began again, the Government would bring in a Bill against British Indians couched in plain language....................

In fact, the speech of the Minister breathed defiance at every point and we think that the very weak and scarcely justifiable attitude which the Imperial Government have taken in this matter for a number of years past, has proved to be a direct incentive to South African statesmen to assume this superciliousness....................The indignities that have been heaped on Indian women by the Searle judgment are justly resented and the Committee of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association have telegraphed to the Minister of the Interior asking Government to amend the law so as to recognise the validity of Indian marriages performed according to Indian customs and religion. They have further informed the Minister that, if this request is not granted, Indian women would offer passive resistance and in common with Indian men suffer imprisonment rather than suffer the indignity to which the Searle judgment subjects them. It was understood, again, that the £3 poll-tax now levied on Indians in Natal would be repealed; but we have now been told, on the authority of no less a person that General Smuts, that the South African Union Government had made no promise of the kind to anybody. We are afraid matters are going from bad to worse, and the helplessness of the Imperial Government to cope with the situation is not the least disquieting factor".

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 10th June, says:--"The Indian Opinion week after week brings the sad tale of the sufferings of our countrymen in South Africa, the sadness being lightened only by their courageous determination to place honour before life. Amidst the prejudice of the law courts, the open opposition

of the executive, struggling through every kind of difficulty, they still press forward. In the pages of modern history, it is impossible to find such a picture of practically illiterate men and women being actuated by the noblest ideals that ever fired man to action. Men, women and children furiously wait for the day on which the atrocious Immigration Bill will become law, when they can show to the world what it is to force down injustice on a resolute people. Then will they write the name of India in the first page of the history of human struggle for human rights and God's own light and air................ Meanwhile the daily oppression proceeds apace. The law courts, where we ought to find, if not the goddess at least the idol of justice, form the amphitheatre for the Indian gladiators.....................Looking through the newspaper reports of the law courts, their procedure, the agitation of the people, the feeling in the average reader is as if he were perusing some cruel romance of an ancient day, when might was right and man could freely oppress man. That all this takes place in the British Empire, that those who oppress and those who are oppressed both call King George "our King" is the tragic circumstance connected with our South African problem, in fact with every immigration problem in which British Colonies and Indians meet on common ground. One single scene from the South African court makes mock at the celebration of the Empire Day in India, for to the Indian there is no Empire except in his own heart, and the patient endurance of injustice is his lot in several parts of the British Empire".

II--Home Administration.

(a) Police.

Europeans and Indians in the Police Service.

2. Referring to Lord Sydenham's speech at the presentation of the Royal Asiatic Society's Public Schools Medal, the Indian Patriot, of the 12th June, says:--"Lord Sydenham's reference to the great opportunities for European young men in India, which has been faithfully telegraphed today from London, will not fail to evoke a feeling of pain all over India. Lord Sydenham was very correct when he described an Indian career by saying there was no 'career nobler, nor any bringing greater opportunities of doing practical visible good within a working lifetime' That is true. The youngest boy that comes to India, provided he is really capable and ready to take advantage of opportunities as they arise, can soon play a Napoleon Bonaparte in his department.....................We are even prepared to say that every responsible officer who comes out to India has often powers enough which some kings might envy. It must be an irony of fate that the most brilliant young men do not come to ~~Indidia~~ India, where they can call forth early all the powers they possess...............
A Dawson in the Police service is a probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police in March 1909, but in March 1910 that is after one year he is an acting Superintendent of police, having a whole district in his charge where he can employ all his powers of observation and inspiration. In his twenty-third year, he finds himself at the head of the police of a large district dressed in authority which kings may envy. Where else in the world are such

oppoṙtunities open for youths?..................But there is a painful side to this picture, and that is that every opportunity given to the European is an opportunity taken away from the children of the soil. When Lord Sydenham says that golden opportunities like strewen on the surface of Indian services, Lord Sydenhan was also saying how those opportunities were specially preserved for Europeans, against the protests of the whole Indian population. Lord Sydenham's references to 'practical visible good within a working lifetime' in connection with the services in India of European boys will open the eyes of the Indian public to the 'working lifetime' of Indians in Government service being spent in hewing wood and drawing water. To them, however educated and equipped, opportunities there are but few. In services like Medical, Police, Forest or Excise, they are specially recruited to do 'coolie' work under Europeans. A Happel who enters the Police service finds himself in three years an acting Superintendent of Police. So far as the Quarterly Civil List guides us, Mr. Happel has no special academical qualifications. What a brilliant opportunity is his that he should find himself in such a responsible situation in so short a time? What a contrast to Indian graduates, with brilliant academical qualifications, with services extending to periods at which the Happels and Sayers had never been born! Rao Bahadur Ramaswami Aiyangar is only a personal assistant to Mr. Happel; when Mr. Ramaswami Aiyangar joined service Mr. Happel had not been born; only after seven years was he to be born. Yet such are the opportunities available for Europeans, he is superior to Mr. Aiyangar and draws higher salary. With his thirty-one years' service, the Rao

Bahadur will retire as a Deputy Superintendent, never having had opportunities to display his capacity. There are many such tragedies in the inner history of the service. Even when Indian officers have shown themselves capable, within the limited scope afforded by acting appointments, and even when rules insist that such acting Indian officers should be made permanent so that they may fully utilise the opportunities, Indian officers are kept outside in the cold. Given the opportunities, what a heaven will India be to ambitious youths eagerly working for name and fame! An Indian of twenty-four years of age as an Inspector of Schools, or Superintendent of Police, a District Forest Officer or a District Medical and Sanitary Officer will come to exist only if we had all the opportunities that are carefully preserved for others. In the life of every Indian officer in Government service is a tragic absence of opportunities, a rigorous imprisonment within the iron-barred chambers of routine work, from whence they see helplessly younger men standing in free air, who, in their pride of freedom beat them with the sticks of official position. When a Happel finds fault with a Ramaswami Aiyangar, in a matter in which Mr. Happel is wrong and Mr. Aiyangar is right--it often happens so-then we come to grasp our own forlorn situation".

(h) Railways.

9. The Cochin Argus, for the week ending 7th June, writes:--

The strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

"It is extremely regrettable that the strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway still continues and that, apparently on the advice of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, there is the

additional and very serious danger of a sympathy strike all over the railway systems in India. It is by no means easy, in the face of conflicting statements, to decide as to the exact amount of responsibility for the present unfortunate situation on the part of the various parties concerned, but we do not think that anything has yet been made known that warrants modification of the view generally held to the effect that the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway men went out without adequate justification..................It is true that arbitration was suggested to the Railway authorities, but we do not know if the demand for arbitration can itself be said to have been put forward in a manner that the Railway authorities could have felt justified in acting upon. Arbitration demanded more or less in the unceremonious manner in which a gentleman of the road asks you for your purse is hardly likely to be conceded by any employer of labour, more especially immediately after he had been as good as assured that his employees had no grievances left to complain of................. We fear that, whatever may be the blame attaching to the Railway authorities, there is no getting away from the conclusion that those who brought about the strike embarked upon an undertaking not at all warranted by the circumstances of the case. Those who are now evidently trying to bring about a sympathy strike all over India are, in our opinion, undertaking something which is, if possible, a great deal more unwarranted. Not only is it extraordinary that the strike in progress should have materialised at the bidding of a society whose centre of activity is outside this Presidency, but it is amazing that Railway men employed in other Provinces and on other systems and having no grievances of their own should be seriously asked or should seriously contemplate going out in sympathy with distant fellow-workers, the pros ad

cons of whose case they certainly cannot be acquainted with. Apparently those who have been invited to strike in sympathy have no grievances against their employers and this being the case, it is ~~maini~~ manifestly and unquestioningly unfair on their part to prejudice the interests of their employers who are not responsible for the grievances of employees of a railway in quite a different part of the country.....................More than this, we fear that this new tendency to foment discontent, on the part of labour, above all railway labour, is calculated to make the task of the Government itself more difficult and anxious than it already is. The cripling of the railway system of this country, we may be sure, would be desired above most things by the enemies of the Government, and the contingency would certainly not at all be improbable once railway labour got firmly imbued with the idea that the strike is the first weapon to be used for either redress of grievances or the forcing out of extra concessions and advantages. This idea is not likely to fail to find its way into the head of the Indian labourer who finds Englishmen themselves, members of the ruling race, calling upon him to defy his employers and to dictate his own terms to them. We will not say that Englishmen ~~themselves, members of~~ are consciously or wilfully endeavouring to make British rule more difficult in India or the lives of their fellow-countrymen out here less pleasant and safe, for we do not believe that harm is being purposely caused. The effect, however, of the kind of agitation that is now in progress is bound to be pernicious and it is a question whether the Government

should not cease being a passive on-looker and should not do something to discourage a movement which is fraught with danger as a consequence of its being intemperately and almost fanatically led".

Writing on this subject, the Western Star, of the 7th June, says:--"The real feeling on the part of the thinking and business sections of the public with regard to the considerable strike which has been going on for several days on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway must necessarily be one of regret, not unmixed with irritation, since the movement is undoubtedly having a costly and vexatious effect on several branches of public activity and in particular on trade and industry. When the public are subjected to inconvenience and even loss by a particular section among them, they can hardly be expected to act in response to altruistic promptings, even when they are assured that their troubles have been caused for grave and substantial reasons. In the present case, we do not think that those who have caused all the trouble are in a position to offer sufficient justification for their action, and, at any rate, we are not aware of their having yet offered any. According to all recognised principles of genuine Trades Unionism, a strike should not be decided upon unless and until other constitutional representations and measures had been fruitlessly exhausted, arbitration included, and there is ground for believing that the strikers in the present case have failed to act in conformity with these principles. We are not concerned for the present with the question as to the extent and nature of the

grievances for which the men have gone on strike, but we are also not prepared to deny that there may be grievances of a very substantial character. What concerns us for the present is the course which has been adopted by the strikers. From all accounts, it would appear to be a most irregular, arbitrary and indefensible course..................It would certainly be disastrous to discipline in the world of labour if employees, ignoring regular and constitutional channels of communication, adopted channels neither regular nor constitutional ~~channels~~ and insisted on their methods being recognised. In the present case, it would have been harmful to discipline if the Railway authorities had gone forward to meet the men on the strength of anonymous and kindred representations.................. In precipitating a strike the men appear to us to have acted with very inadequate reason and justification. Having struck and having done their best to induce others to join them, they have deemed it fit to propose arbitration. Thus, in both stages, they have put the cart before the horse with a vengeance................ It must be quite apparent, we think, that all this was utterly indefensible. The public cannot be expected to give its approval and sympathy to labour tactics of so questionable a character. To encourage irresponsibility would be to imperil public order and progress".

The Madras Standard, of the 9th June, observes:-- "Last night the Travelling Secretary of the Amalagamated Society announced at the meeting of the strikers that he had received a message from the General Secretary at Bombay, asking him to direct the members on strike to join duty by 12 o'clock. The Travelling Secretary himself does not know the grounds on which such an order has been issued and detailed information from Bambay is awaited.

From the report of Mrl Engleken's speech last night, it would seem that he asked the men to go back to work in compliance with the order of the General Secretary, in the belief that they will be allowed to resume work without any penal condition. But we are told that when the men went to their work, they were told that their s servaces had been dispensed with and should they be taken they would be regarded as having been freshly entertained. This means that most of them would not start on the salary they had been drawing. It is also said that the men have been asked to sign an agreement one of the conditions of whiah is that they will not continue to be members of the Amalagamated Society.................... The news that the men had beeb directed to go back to work was received by the public of Madras with a great sense of relief. But in its wake comes this disconcerting news that the Railway authorities are determined to visit the men with their displeasure. We deeply regret the attitude of the authorities. If there had been any public sympathy with them during the strike, that is likely to be withdrawn now on account of their unwise attitude. When this news is flashed throughout the line, it is bound to produce a profound feeling among the men not favourable to the authorities. The public and the Government are anxious to see the end of this miserable business and the authorities have chosen the wrong time for visiting their displeasure on the men".

The Hindu, of the 9th June, remarks:--"The strike is now happily over, and we do hope its lessons, despite its want of success, will not be lost on the Railway

administration concerned. The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway administration might have also adopted, with profit to themselves and great advantage to the public, the prompt and sympathetic methods which Mr. McCloughin, the Acting Agent of the South Indian Railway, adopted in dealing with the situation at the critical moment, and averted, by the use of tact and sympathy, what might have considerably aggravated the public inconvenience and trouble, which was caused by the neglect of preminitory symptoms, which the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway administration betrayed".

In a further article on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 10th June, writes as follows:--"Without going into the merits of the differences between the Railway authorities and the strikers, it is now an admitted fact, admitted even by those that have vehemently advocated the case of the Railway authorities, that the men did not want only strike and that they had substantial grievances. It is, however, held that the Railway authorities had no knowledge of them. This is hard to believe, unless it is held that the representations to the General Traffic Manager and the Agent on the treatment given by the lower officials and appeals against severe and hasty, and in some cases undeserved, punishments, are not regarded as a formal expression of grievances. There is no doubt that in some parts on the line there has been seething discontent.................In all fairness, the strikers had a right to be heard and the first-hand information they were also getting on the situation was little heeded. One of our contemporaries who had persistently kept the strain, that the strike had collapsed, would not even

condescend to publish a telegram on the situation at Gooty sent by the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai to all the local ~~daili ities, which~~ dailies, which went to contradict to some extent the unceasing burden of the song in its columns. The other, however, published the message, but has pulled it to pieces on the strength of the official version..............And yet day after day during the past week the public were being assured that normal conditions had been restored! This is passing strange. The intervention of the Amalgamated Society has no doubt contributed to the complexity of the situation. The Railway authorities seem to be determined to end it once for all and in this attempt they have been receiving unstinted support from our two Anglo-Indian contemporaries. One of them has the rare humour to suggest the prosecution of the society both by the strikers who would not be taken back to work and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway authorities. How far the authorities are right in ignoring the claims of the society is a question the discussion of which we reserve for another occasion. But, meanwhile, so far as we have been able to gather the present attitude of the Railway authorities towards the men who have offered to return to duty has in no small measure alienated the little public sympathy which they had. Certainly men with service extending over twenty and twenty-five years ought not to be left adrift. The degree of tactlessness manifested by their attitude is distressing. The strikers say that no light has yet been thrown on the situation from Bombay. Probably the public will soon have some particulats from the General Secretary, But in the interest of peaceful administration,

it is imperative on the part of the authorities to admit the men willing to return without any penal condition and we have no doubt that public sympathy is fast being transferred to the strikers now".

The Muhammadan, of the 12th June, writes:--"We have said what we have to say on the sad strike which so much dislocates the inter-communication. We here present a short note on the strike from our bright and thoughtful contemporary of the Indian Social Reformer. If it is convinced that the grievances complained of are real, it will cheerfully undergo considerable inconvenience rather than see the movement collapse. If, on the other hand, there is reason to suspect that there is behind the strike nothing more important than the vain desire of an individual or a society to show off its power public opinion will support strong measures being used to put down the movement. It behoves the leaders of strikes to show that they have begun reluctantly and after every effort possible to obtain redress by argument and appeal, and that they are anxious to end as soon as reasonably moderate concessions are made to their demands. They must remember that the convenience of the public is deeply involved in their operations................ Meanwhile is it impossible to have some machinery which can adjust and regulate from time to time, and in an automatic manner, the movement of wages in relation to prices? Instead of leaving the employer and the employed to fight out among themselves, cannot the State establish a permanent and disinterested tribunal to adjudge between the claims of capital and labour?.................

The Government of India should take early action with a view to obviate the recurrence of strikes which, more than the loss and suffering occasioned by them, always leave a deposit of hard feeling between employers and workmen every time they occur".

The Cochin Argus, of the 14th June, remarks:--"It is a positive relief to know that the situation is steadily improving on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, as also on those lines whose employees had been indueed to strike in sympathy with their brethren in this Presidency. The strikers were undoubtedly forfeiting public sympathy to a greater and greater extent as reliable and undeniable details of the situation were being disclosed and the extremely questionable methods of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants were being exposed, and had the strike veen permitted to attain still larger dimensions, there would probably have been a general outburse of indignation on the part of the public at large.................. A society whose members are made the catspaw of its officers is liable to do more harm than good, notwithstanding the unexceptionable nature of its objects and rules. In the present case, most important objects have been defied and most important rules have been violated in a most reprehensible manner, thereby placing the general body of members in a position which can only be described as ridiculous. We do not know if it is not the duty of the Government, in the interests of public order and safety, to make a close enquiry into the working of the society under its present General and staff".

The after-math of the strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

10. Referring to an article appearing in the Bombay Chronicle, in which it was stated that the measures adopted by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway authorities towards the strikers was causing discontent, the Madras Standard, of the 13th June, says:-"The strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway might have been scotched, but not even the newspapers, which by a strange coincidence always range themselves on the side of the capitalists as against the workmen, can assert, with their usual 'brass', that it has been killed. There is still a great deal of unrest on this line and to this has been added, thanks to the indiscretion and bad diplomacy of the authorities, a deep sense of injury. Accounts of punishments meted out to strikers have appeared in these columns and elsewhere in this issue will be found a report on the situation in the Perambur Workshops. The men who have returned to duty, meekly submitting to the punishments awarded to them, are not likely to forget it. Resentment and sense of injury die hard. They smoulder and no one can say when a passing breeze might blow them into a flame. The men that have offered to return, but have been refused admission, might find work elsewhere, the world is wide enough, but it is impossible on the part of their brother workmen in service to withhold their sympathy from those that have suffered for the common cause.................The tactlessness of the authorities has thus created two sets of men, the one in their service nourishing a sense of injury and brooding

over it and the other, out of service, sword for life to do all that they can, when time is ripe, to bring down the authorities on their knees, ...It is the hot-headed behaviour of some of the Railway officials of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway that provoked the recent strike. The sacking and the harsh treatment of some of the men who took a leading part in the movement in April for higher wages were acts of unwisdom. The same game is now being played. The potential discontent that has thus been created will always be a menace to peaceful administration. The public have an interest in this tug-of-war. If the authorities would not listen to dictates of reason and good sense, in their own interest and in that of the public, Government should be approached to interfere on behalf of the men sho have been dismissed from the service and those that have been visited with heavy punishments".

(k) General.

11. The Indian Patriot, of the 14th June, writes:--"The Hon'ble Mr. Rama Aiyangar's interpellation in the Legislative Council on the Salt and Abkari brought out the interesting fact that almost none of the European Deputy Commissioners had any university qualifications; neither had the Assistant Commissioners any such qualifications. The Thurleys and Thomsons who draw a thousand rupees a month are no more qualified than the Ramaswamys and Krishnaswamys who draw twenty rupees a month in the merchant's office ....We do not at all

Indians in the public services.

Indians in the public services

suggest that because the Thurleys have no academical distinctions they do not deserve their thousand rupees. But we do suggest that the opportunities that the Thurleys have, ought to be available for the Ramaswamys also. We do suggest that when Ramaswamys come with higher qualificarikns and enter service, their claims should be honoured. There are several distinguished graduates who have been passed over by unqualified Europeans. That is an injustice which the Government ought never to be a party to....................In every large employing department such as the Forest, the Excise, the Police, the strange spectacle can be seen in an age of efficiency, of unpassed men ordering passed men. It is all right when the unpassed men are experienced, but it is not at all just that opportunities to gain experience should be given only to European unpassed, while there there are hundreds of Indians passed and hundreds of thousands of Indians unpassed ready to do any work. In the Forest department of this Presidency--it must be the same, we suppose, in other parts of India also--the three officers of the upper controlling staff of the Conservator grade and twenty-four of the twenty-seven officers of the Deputy Conservator grade are unacademic men. They get a salary ranging between five hundred and one thousand two hundred and fifty. Why should not Indian passed or why should not every nationality of unpassed men be given an opportunity to enter the higher grade of Forest service? Indian graduates enter as Forest Rangers, but the Madens and the Minchins begin as Deputy Conservators and District Forest Officers. A Gadsden enters the Police service as

a head constable, but finds himself a Superintendent of a Central Jail drawing one thousand rupees in ten years. He is a non-university man. A Shubrick, another such, draws a thousand rupees. Mr. Young was an Inspector of Police, but as Superintendent of Jail he draws a thousand rupees salary. Why should the Shubricks, the Gadsdens and the Youngs have this privilege? Why not Indians in Police service, unpassed or passed men, who have put in longer service? A Chamier who enters the Salt department without any known university qualification is a Jail Superintendent on high salary, while a Mitchell who begins as a correspondence clerk in prisons finds himself a Jail Superintendent in ten years. Any Indian unpassed, give the opportunity, can better manage a jail than a Young, and yet no such opportunities are his. We do not know on what principle the jail appointments are made. If the Jail department is a favoured niche for Police officers, our graduates who are stagnating as Deputy Superintendents of Police can well be placed as Jail Superintendents on thousand rupees. Such appointments will prick the bubble of mystery, and at the same time inaugurate a better atmosphere in the jail. It is something for Sir Harold Stuart to ponder over.

"The Police department is a bee-hive of unpassed, with this difference, that passed men are passed over by the unpassed. Mr. A. Subba Rao is a graduate, but is is only an acting Superintendent of Police on eight hundred rupees a month after twenty-three years' service. But a Loveluck or an Atkinson, non-university men, who

entered service in 1903, also draw equal salary, while a Blackstone or a Chetham who entered service 13 years after Mr. Subba Rao, draw nine hundred rupees as third grade Superintendents. A Mainwaring, non-university man, who entered service in the same year as Mr. Subba Rao, draws now one thousand two hundred. But Indian unpassed men are not given such promotions. Mr. Paupa Rao Nayudu joined service in 1881, and every Police officer in service today is his junior. Yet he draws a low salary. European unpassed have been taken over his head with a steady persistency. What special merit is there in the European unpassed? Rao Bahadur Parankusam Nayudu, whose is the first Indian name in the Quarterly Civil List, who joined the service before Mr. Mainwaring, is still an Acting Superintendent of Police of the fourth grade. And though he has been acting in his present appointment for over two years, and there is a rule that acting officers, when found satisfactory, ought to be made permanent, yet he is still an Acting Superintendent, fourth grade. Except Mr. Cumberland and Mr. Thomas no one has longer service than he, and every one of them is an university man. Why should there be such reluctance in promoting Indians, when by their work and qualifications they are found deserving?".

Treatment of Indians.

28. The Andhraprakasika, of the 7th June, in its leader on this subject remarks:- The responsibility of fulfilling the promises held out to the Indians in the three successive Royal Proclamations down to that of King George V, that the Indians will be treated on a par with

the rest of the subjects of the British Empire, rests not only with His Majesty, but also on the officers who represent him in India. It is highly regrettable that this responsibility is not discharged quite impartially. In every department of the Public Service, not only Europeans but also Eurasians, East Indians and others who wear hats and imitate European manners are favoured more than the other Indians. With a few exceptions, Indians of character, ability, experience and long service are placed in subordinate positions under inexperienced European officers. The reason usually advanced for this state of things is that the Indians are not competent to hold high offices for they lack the ability to perform the duties connected therewith. But these assertions have been falsified by certain Indians who, being entrusted with responsible posts, have not been found wanting in administrative skill. In Railways, the convenience and comforts of the European passenger are carefully looked to, while the Indian is almost neglected. In hospitals too, the same state of things prevails. The sooner this difference in the treatment of Europeans and Indians is removed, the closer will become the relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

XIV. Miscellaneous.

The exportation of gold from India.

31. The Vijayavikatan, of the 30th May, observes:--Gold worth nearly Rs.2,11,25,000 was obtained from six mines in Kolar during last month alone and the whole of this is being sent to England. Why should those in England object to the introduction of gold coinage in India? Though

gold is not allowed to be exported to India from London and other places, cannot the Indian Government prevent at least the gold produced in India being exported to foreign countries?

Lord Sydenham on India.

33. The Swadesamitran, of the 6th June, observes:--Lord Sydenham is reported to have stated as follows on the occasion of a dinner given to him in London: "It is regrettable that much attention is not paid to India by those in England.............This is the time when England should send out her most intelligent men and those having broad views to India. We have got to do only one thing in India and that is, we should bodly do what appears to us to be right. Instead of trying to please the thousands of discontented people, we should try to please millions of other people". It is no doubt true that the people of England do not take much interest in the affairs of India. The reason for this is the confidence of the Enlishmen in the first-rate statesmen who are appointed as Secretary of State and Governor-general and so they think that, as long as such statesmen conduct the affairs of India, they can rest assured of the peaceful condition of this country. But millions of people in India are ruled by thousands of Englishmen and these Englishmen should therefore be the best men available, as pointed out by Lord Sydenham. Second-rate statesmen will not command respect from the people, especially as the latter have now become conscious of their rights.

We cannot understand the other statement of Lord Sydenham that there are thousands of discontented people in India. We do not know to whom he refers in this statement. He cannot refer to the anarchists and seditionists in the country, for they do not number thousands. Then there are the educated classes, who are always viewed separately from the generality of the people by the Anglo-Indians. If Lord Sydenham had referred to this class, we will only say that he has not acquired much knowledge from his stay in India as a Governor for nearly 5½ years. It is from the educated classes that members are chosen for the Legislative Councils in India and it is admitted on all hands that they have been doing laudable work in these Councils. So we are at a loss to know what Lord Sydenham meant by this statement.

India and Imperial defence.

36. The Sadhvi, of the 13th June, writes:--Although India at present pays more than 30 crores of rupees towards British military charges, still certain Anglo-Indian papers hold that it behoves the Government of India to contribute a few dreadnaughts as well to the defence of the Empire. The military charges which India already pays are unduly heavy. The magnanimity of these Anglo-Indians which, not satisfied with the burden already borne by India, wants her to pay still more is, indeed, something very wonderful.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 21ST JUNE 1913.

No. 25 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(a) Police.

The Police and the strikers' meetings.

1. Referring to the proceedings instituted by the police against the conveners of the strikers' meeting held at the Clarence Hotel, Madras, during the late strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, the Indian Patriot, of the 20th June, says:--"A well-known public man of the city draws attention today to the police prosecution of Mr. A.C. Parthasarathi Nayudu, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner and Editor of the only Telugu tri-weekly. The case went before Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, for not only has common sense prevailed, but a judgment is on record that would insist on common sense not being strangled by half-educated police officers and their misguided enthusiasm. The prosecution of Mr. A.C. Parthasarathi Nayudu points to what extent police officers can alienate their best friends, or rather how they cannot resist the temptation of showing their authority on every possible occasion.......... Are the police the sworn enemies of the public that they take secret and eager interest in inveigling the public

into trouble? As soon as the police hear that a meeting is to be held at the Clarence Hotel they grow anxious, we suppose, lest any application should be made for a license. Every hour that drags the hour of meeting nearer increases the pleasing anxiety. The hour of meeting shows the police man at the meeting, watching in silence as if gloating over the prey in his ~~min~~ hand. The intervening night between the end of the meeting and the entry of the Magistrate to the Police Court must have been a tedious drag on our vigilant keeper of peace, but having summoned the arch-enemy of public peace in the city--in that light does Honorary Magistrate Mr. A.C. Parthasarathi Nayudu appear in their eye--they have done their duty. The falling heavens stay in their wild career, and the soft breeze of harmonious peace, threatened most seriously by Mr. Parthasarathi Nayudu's stentorian voice breaking on the ears of the strikers, once more resumes its normal blow. All this exhibition of police activity and watchfulness, however, never in the least does any credit to the peaceful nature of the police................ It would be well if the police could have the benefit of legal advice before they make such miserable display of a spirit that is absolutely bound to widen the gulf between the police and the public. Surely the police officer is no friend of the public man when knowing that a crime is going to be committed, he would not raise a little finger to keep him back...............We sincerely hope that the police will understand that they exist not to harass the public but to help them, never to know of a crime to be perpetrated and hold themselves back to enable the crime being perpetrated".

(h) Railways.

The Pioneer on the late strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

8. Referring to the Pioneer's defence of the attitude of the Government in the late strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, the Hindu, of the 18th June, writes:--"The part of advocatus diaboli is one in which the Pioneer shines with particular effulgence. That may either be the cause or the effect of the fact that it is generally made the mouth-piece of official apologies. The Pioneer's incursions into the realms of abstruse metaphysical speculation in the search for reasons for the sins of omission or commission of the agents of administration are generally too recondite for ordinary intelligences to grasp. We may as an instance in point quote its attempt to justify the attitude of the Government authorities and the Railway Board in regard to the recent strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway..................We are at some pains to notice this effort of the Pioneer, because it seems to bear on its face some evidence of being inspired. Before we criticise the Pioneer's arguments, we may point out that it stands almost alone among the newspapers of India in defending the supineness of the Railway Board in the matter. Turning to the Pioneer's arguments, we must first notice the implied criticism of State interference in industrial disputes, because it is not always an 'unqualified success'. On this subject the Pioneer has the honour of standing alone against accepted opinion in England. The measure of success of State interference ought not to be whether the trouble absolutely

disappeared, but rather whether things would not have been much worse without such interference. The whole question of State interference in industrial disputes has advanced to a stage when it has become an accepted maxim, and one enunciated recently by a Commission appointed to enquire into the methods of preventing such disputes, that the State should interfere at the first symptom of trouble and try to persuade both parties to come to an agreement......... We have nothing to say as to the methods by which the strike was conducted. But there is no doubt that the Agent and the Railway Board had ample notice of the coming strike and the further farce of an ultimatum in the face of the contempt with which the notice was received would have been ludicrous and at least superfluous".

Railway unrest in India.

9. Referring to the growth of Trade Unionism in India and the various Press comments on the late strike on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, the Madras Standard, of the 21st June, says..-"It is this aspect of the present railway unrest that the various heads of the railway administrations in India have failed to grasp. In refusing arbitration and in failing to harmoniously combine conciliation and discipline, the Agent of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway has set a bad example to others. The result is an unrest which unhinges the wheels of the administration. No one can deny, not even some of our local Pioneers, that all is not right on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. The authorities

maintain a defiant attitude and the men are sullen. The dismissed hands are keeping up an agitation that threatens to gather volume. Is this a desirable situation, desirable even in the interests of discipline? The situation on other railways does not seem to be in any way better. From Burma we are getting news by no means assuring. On the G.I.P. and B.B. and C.I. Railways things are taking an ugly turn. The Railway Board is for all intents and purposes dead. Will the Supreme Government, in the interests of trade and public convenience, interfere to set matters right? There is no use of waiting for a crisis. That is no statemanship. Let a representative arbitration board be appointed for each province, without prejudicing the men's right to strike or the employer's to press his heel on the men. But let arbitration be made compulsory before war is declared, so that public opinion may be given a chance to throw its weight in either scale".

Writing on this subject, the Cochin Argus, for the week ending 21st June, says:--"The public have hardly settled down to the belief that the trouble on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway has been brought to a satisfactory termination, when reports are getting into circulation to the effect that trouble is again brewing which, if not averted in time, may prove to be on a much larger scale than the recent strike and which may also in all probability extend to other Indian railway, systems, numbers of whose employees, as is known, struck in sympathy with the Madras strikers, as also with

the object of helping the latter to get the better of their employers. At present, the main cause of discontent would appear to be the action of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway authorities in locking out numbers of men who had not returned to duty before the expiry of the period specified in the Agent's ultimaturm to the strikers......................Such an organisation as the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants is undoubtedly desirable for the protection and advancement of the legitimate interests of the railway servants in India, but it has been only too mainfest during the recent strike that this society is apt to ignore its own clear rules and regulations in its excess of zeal for its own recognition. The now famous telegram of Mr. Rogers bidding the strikers to hold on as the Government was expected to intervene is a clear instance that the society's responsible officers lay a vast deal more stress on the strike method than is warranted by the tenets of the Society...............In spite of what the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants did and all the big talk its loquacious Travelling Secretary ~~Railway Servants~~ indulged in during the recent strike the Railway authorities were certainly not prostrated, but managed to keep things going tolerably and to be complimented by the public on the manner in which they dealt with the situation. On the other hand, as the strikers must have seen if they had their eyes open, they themselves came in for a very small share of public sympathy and approval".

17. Referring to an article under the heading "The year in India", which appeared in the Empire Day supplement of the Times (London), the Hindu, of the 16th June says:--

THE TIMES (London) ON INDIA.

"In the course of an interesting concluding paragraph, the writer says:--'We have first to make the people of India willing citizens of the British Empire, to make them realise that their best interests will lie within the Empire rather than outside it and then to awaken among them a sense of the relations of their position so that they may understand that even their dreams of a united Indian nation in the distant future can only be fulfilled if they are stirring enough to protect themselves and resist aggression' We do not believe that there is any Indian who does not realise this fact. That India is not held by the sword but is protected from outside aggression by the sword is obvious enough, if somewhat of a platitude. But let us point out that the costly burden of defence would be considerably lightened if Indians were in reality made 'Citizens of the Empire' So far, however, Imperial citizenship is a thing without significance as the experience of Indians in the colonies amply demonstrates. English writers on India are generally too fond of laying stress on India's responsibilities to the Empire. What is far more important to insist upon is the fact that an Indian citizen has rights as well as responsibilities and it is a hopeless task to attempt to make the people 'willing citizens of the Empire', by ignoring the former, while emphasising the latter, as the writer under discussion seems inclined to do".

35. The Desabhimani, of the 15th June, in an article on the "Christian Church in Narasaraopet"

Christian Church in Narasaraopet.

observes:--We hear that the citizens of Narasaraopet, Guntur district, have made representations to the Government regarding the attempt of a Christian clergyman to establish a church in the centre of Brahmin quarters in Arundalpet. Toleration in religious matters has not as yet been completely established nor can it be in the near future. The Government are well aware that friction between Hindus and other religionists always centres round churches, mosques and other places of worship. We pray that the Government may take due notice of the memorial submitted by the Hindus on this question and issue timely orders seeing that prevention is better than cure.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 28TH JUNE 1913.

No. 26 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

[Military expenditure in India.]

10. In commenting on an article of the Times (London) referring to the report of the Nicholson Commission on Military Expenditure in India, the Madras Standard, of the 25th June, says:--"The inordinate military expenditure of India is due mostly to the distrust of the people, which had its origin in the Great Indian Mutiny. At the present time, almost all the responsible places in the Military department are held by Englishmen and it is well known that the cost of maintaining an English officer is nearly twice as great as that of an Indian. Though responsible British statesmen have on many occasions testified to the loyalty of the people of this country, yet in considering the strength of the army in India all such assertions are freely cast to the winds. The whole scheme drawn up by Lord Kitchener is based on the supposition that the people of India are hostile to the maintenance of British Rule and will, at some convenient moment, repeat the experiment of 1857..........................The havoc,

however, which this sentiment of disloyalty has done, becomes more obvious when we consider the peace establishment in this country. In European States, the peace establishments are very small and the military strength of the nation mainly depends upon the reserve. Thus in Germany, even according to the new Bill, the peace establishment will be only 84,000, while in times of war, that State can put nearly 5 million soldiers in the field...................But in this country, the peace establishments are far greater than the reserve. The reserve in India is only about 30,000 and the peace establishments are five times as great. It is this feature of the composition of the Indian Military department that is responsible for its high expenditure. If we should follow the example of Germany, or France or any other civilised nation, the ~~auk~~ military budget will not swell even to 15 or 16 millions and surely, the defence of this country will be stronger. The only hindrance to such a development is the Government's distrust of the people".

The situation in South Africa.

16. In a leader under this heading, the Hindu, of the 23rd June, writes:--"According to a cable received by a Bombay contemporary, the South African Immigrants Regulation Act has received the Royal assent. The fact is significant because it implies that the Imperial Government have set their seal of approval to a most pernicious piece of legislation enacted by the Parliament in South Africa amidst vehement protests from those who would be affected most by the measure, and in violation of the most solemn pledges given by South African Ministers.

Lord Ampthill, whose noble advocacy of the Indian cause has had no response in official quarters, protested only the other day that the Royal assent should not be given to the Bill before Parliament has had an opportunity to consider its provisions. Lord Ampthill's appeal to the Press in England to inform the English public as to what is occurring in South Africa is a clear indication that public attention has not been directed to the devious methods adopted in that country. The fact, unfortunately, is that by some means or other, the Imperial Government have been induced to accept the Bill as a solution to the present difficulties, and Mr. Harcourt's answer to Mr. O'Grady a few days ago that, though the Bill would not give complete satisfaction, yet the authorities in England had considered that the abolition of the racial inequality in regard to immigration was a valuable concession to Indian feeling, indicates the utter helplessness which His Majesty's Government feel in persuading the South African authorities to perceive the error of their ways. There appears to be, however, no mistake as to the effect which this stupendous failure of the Government to meet Indian views has had on the Indian community.................
It is a matter for profound regret that Indians in South Africa should consider that the Bill was not as vigorously and severely criticised in India as the necessities of the situation demanded and that great consternation prevails there owing to the fact that the Act willcome into operation from the 1st of August next.
.......................Mr. Harcourt derived some consolation

from the fact that the racial bar had been removed. He ought to have been grievously misinformed about the actual condition of affairs. It is still there, and the provincial bar has also not been removed. If that is so, it is difficult to understand how Ministers have advised His Majesty to give the Royal assent to a measure which has most flagrantly violated the right--conceded by the Imperial Government--of Indians to claim racial equality. Another very vexatious provision, denying the right of domicile to ex-indentured Indians, is maintained; and the immense harm it would result in needs no description here. The marriage difficulty has not also been solved. In fact this outrage, devised by the authorities, has more than anything else roused righteous indignation everywhere."

Writing ~~entyhid~~ on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 24th June, says:--"It is difficult to find in modern history a parallel to this act of political back-sliding and in securing the Royal assent to such a dishonest piece of legislation as the South African Immigration Bill, the Imperial Government has committed a blunder, the disastrous effects of which are sure to affect the solidarity of of the British Empire...............There can be no doubt that passive resistance will again begin and it is sure to continue until the victory is ours. In South Africa itself, there is a considerable amount of public opinion in favour of a reasonable settlement of this question and almost the whole Unionist party is now in our favour..................It is gratifying to note that Mr. Gandhi is confident of securing the help of more passive resisters than in 1910-11 and thus, so far

as South Africa is concerned, there is every chance of an immediate victory. But a greater responsibility lies on the people of this country in this respect. On us depends the difficult task of compelling the Government of India not to agree to such a dishonest settlement. We should also try to bring home to the Imperial Government that they have surrendered the Indian cause by securing the Royal assent to the Bill".

The Indian Patriot, of the 24th June, remarks:- "Yet another stage has been reached in the struggle which, fore several years past, our brave countrymen have been waging for their freedom and the peace of their home in South Africa. The Immigration Bill that has been passed is said to have legalised the wrongs inflicted on them. Absolutely no relief has come in spite of agitation and passive resistance; no amount of agitation has erased the indignity on the Indian wife. For ever the Indians have been given a place which is a standing insult to their country............. The brilliant fight waged by them will give our countrymen a place whence they can hear the worshipful reference to them of posterity . Led by a gallant leader, every one of them is a Gandhi, ready to brave every indignity which an alien Government piles upon them, so that their dignity as the born subjects of His Majesty the King of England and Emperor of India may be unsullied; man, woman and child are inspired and over them all beat the wings of the angel in Mr. Gandhi, the mam who has transmitted to his illiterate brethren the powers of his own unlimited heart. The voice of authority in the

Transvaal Parliament claims the sanction of the Imperial Government for a measure which to Indian South Africa is a punishment unbearable.

"The question now is what can India do for those who have taken the sacred vow and already placed the right foot forward on the path that leads to the jail? We are proud of them. We are proud that those who left us in search of their livelihood have spurned their means of livelihood when it came to a question of barter with their rights as British subjects. If the people of India should rise in the estimation of the world, it must be not by their appeals to their countrymen in South Africa to die rather than bear their neck for the unjust yoke; not by the indignant protests and sensational telegrams from the Government of India to the South Africa Government against the strange and barbarous treatment accorded to their subjects; not by the united opposition and determined attitude of the Chambers of Commerce not to tolerate the intolerable. If the people of India are respected at all abroad it must be because of what their countrymen in South Africa are doing and have proved they are prepared to do. It is they that have proclaimed to the world, in a manner that the world cannot afford to forget, that Indians cannot be slaves. The passive resistance movement in South Africa by our countrymen is the resistance against the attempt to brand as slaves the free-born subjects of His Majesty King George V. Our countrymen in the Transvaal, thus, are striving to give India an honourable place in history. Had they not been inspired as now,

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had they not felt ~~felt~~ the indignity of a wife being a concubine in the eye of the law, of the atrocity of a three-pound tax for liberty, the world would never have heard of the passive resistance movement......... The time has come when we must show, and we hope every educated Indian is proud to show it, that he stands by the side of his brother, dragged to the South African jail, because he refused to show that an Indian subject of His Majesty the King can be insulted with impunity. It is for every educated Indian to show that he is on the side of the woman torn from her husband and turned out with an insult, unbearable to Indian womanhood, that she is no wedded wife. An insult to Indian womanhood is one of the indignities which the Transvaal Government have, in their utter mockery of us, not hesitated to add to the other already existing indignities. If that will not suffice to induce India to go into mourning, then it is impossible to speak of public spirit in India. If our countrymen in South Africa can close their business and go to jail, leaving their females and their children to God and to Gandhi, cannot Indians in India turn the current of silver and gold, which went to Turkey, to South Africa?........... Money must freely flow to where the bread-winner is out to fight for the honour and greatness of India".

The West Coast Reformer, of the 26th June, observes:- "Will passive resistance be resumed? Will our courageous but unlucky countrymen in South Africa submit themselves and their women to imprisonment and ill-treatment rather than submit to the dishonour of the new Immigrants' Regulation? The answer seems to be in the affirmative.

For the Indians in South Africa have expressed in plain language their intention to take to passive resistance if the new legislation were passed, and now the unwelcome news has reached India that the objectionable piece of law has passed through the several stages and obtained even Royal assent. If the information is true--and there is no possibility of its being untrue--the Imperial Government in London has painfully shattered the only hopes of the Indians in South Africa, for the latter strongly believed that the legislation of the Union Parliament against the interests of Indians would not be approved by the Imperial Government..................
The Indians are determined to stand up for their motherland and preserve its honour. They have decided not even to appeal to India for funds in aid of their campaign, but would fight out their cause to the bitterest end. Passive resistance they have not forgotten, even the women are reported to be prepared for sufferings. How long will this continue? Will not the Government of India take action?".

17. In an article under the heading "A disgrace to the British Empire", the Madras Standard, of the 24th June, says:--"Recently a meeting was held at Vancouver by British Indians to protest against their unjust treatment by the Government of Canada. The continuance of the present state of affairs was described there as 'a disgrace to the Empire, to Canada, and to India' ....We should like to know why Indians are prohibited, while the Chinese and the Japanese are admitted. The people of this country may not be as acceptable as those of Japan, but are we inferior to even the Chinese? Even the Anglo-Indian will not, we think, undertake to prove it. The next question is--

British Indians in Canada.

why then are Indians practically forbidden to enter Canada while some other Asiatics are not? The only reply possible is Japan can fight for her inhabitants, while the people of this country have no such protection. The British flag is flying over us, but it is powerless in regard to Canada. Translated into other words, the present attitude of the Dominions indicates that the subject of a British Colony has not the same rights within the Empire itself as an outsider who is in no way superior to the British subject. Now is this not a disgrace to the British Empire? The people of India cannot interpret the present situation in any other way.......................If a citizen of the Empire cannot migrate on equal terms to any part of it, we do not know how far the different kingdoms can be said to belong to the same Empire. To those to whom the Empire means nothing more than the means of getting rich at the expense of others, there may be nothing strange in that phenomenon, but if the Empire is to be a reality, the present state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. At least Indians have yet to learn that it is not a disgrace to an Empire to contain two sets of people who hate each other as the gates of hell".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 5TH JULY 1913.

No. 27 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika contempt case.

1. In commenting on the judgment delivered by the Chief Justice and Justices Stephen and Mukerjee in the Calcutta High Court, in this case, the Hindu, of the 1st July, writes:--"The result of the application in the High Court to commit the Amrita Bazar Patrika for contempt in respect of certain articles regarding the Barisal Conspiracy case, will be hailed with satisfaction by all those who cherish the freedom of the press as the most valuable of popular rights. Our brethren in Bengal may well be congratulated on possessing in their High Court a tribunal which commands the greatest public confidence, and a Chief Justice whose clear conception of law, of constitutional rights, and of all that makes for the advancement of public justice and the redress of private wrongs cannot be too highly estimated. In the inflamed political atmosphere of Bengal, and the excited passions of the moment on the part both of some members of the ruling race and of the ruled, a calm judicial determination by the High Court, supported on approved legal principles such as have now been pronounced, is of the utmost value".

Writing on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 1st July, says:--"So the contempt case instituted against the Amrita Bazar Patrika has been a signal failure. The charge against the editor was withdrawn by the Advocate-General in the course of the hearing and their Lordships dismissed the case against him with costs. The Government, however, thought fit to proceed against the printer and yesterday evening, the three Judges who heard the case, delivered separate judgments, each acquitting him of all the charges............... It is most satisfactory to note the result of the trial, especially since this is the second time during the last few years when any serious charges levelled against an Indian newspaper were found to be groundless. The first was against the Karmayagin of which Mr. Arabinda Ghose was the chief contributor. Months after the publication of a long letter, the Government of Bengal discovered its mistake in not having instituted proceedings against the journal and though the publisher was first sentenced to six months, the court of appeal could discover nothing criminal in the whole article. For the second time now the Government of Bengal have been rudely checked in their campaign against the freedom of the press and let us hope, that they as well as the other provincial Governments will be profited by this wholesome experience".

The Indian Patriot, of the 1st July, observes:-- "We publish today the remarkable judgment of the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court on what has come to be known as the Amrita Bazar Patrika contempt case.

The Bengal Government wanted the High Court to charge the Amrita Bazar Patrika with having committed contempt of court, and the High Court, of which Sir Lawrence Jenkins is the Chief Justice, has ruled that though they may have jurisdiction to commit for contempt of the High Court in a case of his class, still that in the present case no contempt justifying summary action on their part has been established. The application has been dismissed with costs..................The Government apparently wanted to create a new offence, and we are glad that the High Court of Bengal has refused to countenance the preposterous claim. The whole press of India will welcome this important decision. It is one more brick laid on the slowly rearing fabric of journalism in India. It would have had all the effects of another Press Act if the High Court had committed the Amrita Bazar Patrika for contempt, because it was drawn into a question which was exciting the intensest interest. Commonsense would have been stabbed to death had the Calcutta High Court ruled, as it would have ruled by convicting the Amrita Bazar Patrika of a crime which the Bengal Government was anxious to lay at its doors, that the Amrita Bazar Patrika could not have said, on the eve of sensational prosecution which tore through the public mind of Bengal with the violence of a hurricane............. We sincerely hope that the decision of the Calcutta High Court will not stir the legislators to sit in conclave and frame a law to get over the decision. If they did so, it would not be surprising, for it would be in keeping with the spirit behind the prosecution of the Amrita Bazar Patrika. In this connection we cannot but express

surprise that a Government, of which Lord Carmichael is the head, should have been detected at the unnatural work of strangling the struggling voice of an already chocked press".

The West Coast Reformer, of the 3rd July, remarks:--"We congratulate the Amrita Bazar Patrika on its narrow escape from the serious charge of contempt of court which was levelled against it by the Government of Bengal. The Calcutta High Court has risen one step higher in the estimation of the public as the palladium of justice, by shattering to pieces the fetters brought by the Advocate-General to arrest the legitimate expression of journalistic criticism. The Chief Justice, whom Bengal worships for his learning and fair-play and the two other Judges found there was no contempt of court in the Patrika's articles. The Patrika only remonstrated against universal house searches, the harsh treatment of arrested persons and the methods attributed to the police in investigating the Barisal conspiracy case'.

20. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 29th June,

The situation in South Africa.

writes:--"The Indian problem in South Africa has assumed a shape which leaves no room for doubt as to what the white colonists are about...............The treatment accorded to Indians in South Africa has been scandalous all through, and their countrymen and kindred in India cannot view the situation with unconcern. We are often invited to join the Empire Day celebration. What is the position of Indians within the Empire? In South Africa,

in Canada, and in Australia they are political outcasts, mere helots, who are looked down upon with contempt and scorn. If nothing else, our sense of self-respect must impel us to action on behalf of our persecuted countrymen in South Africa. Would any European community allow a single member of it to be trampled under foot in any part of the world? Indians of all sections must join and do everything that lies within the constitution to make their voices heard in the matter".

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 2nd July, says:--"No more proof of the want of disregard of Indian claims for fairplay and justice on the part of the South African Union Government, and of their open violation of sacred promises is required than what is furnished by the surprising reply given by General Smuts in regard to the repeal of £3 tax in Natal. On no one question was the intention of that Government more clearly or emphatically expressed than on this; the Government, it was understood, had definitely undertook to repeal the hateful impost....................What is, however, astonishing is the statement Mr. Smuts made that the Indian Government still agreed to the tax. We should like to know the truth of this matter. It is difficult to believe that the Government of India, who are so closely in touch with Indian public opinion on South African subjects and to whom the great iniquity of this inhuman tax has been, not once or twice, represented, should, as vouched for by Mr. Smuts, still agree to its continuation. We trust that the earliest opportunity will be taken to elicit from Government whether this is a fact".

The Indian Patriot, of the 4th July, remarks:--"India throbs from one end to the other with sympathy for its children abroad, for the yawning gulf of woe and suffering on the edge of which they stand ready, almost in ecstasies to fall. The Government of India too, if we are to rely on the correspondent, was not unaffected. It too watched the course of the Bill. Having opposed the abolition of the system of indentured labour, and thus undertaken a serious responsibility, the Government of India did not neglect the cauldron in which the fate of thousands of its subjects had been thrown by the South African Government. What concerned the Government of India most was its prestige. Indians, the Government of India insisted, should not be excluded by name. According to the correspondent of the Morning Post the difficulty of the whole matter is that the Indian community, both in South Africa and in India itself, has the strongest objection to the mention of Indians in the Bill as being subject to exclusion from the Union................His Majesty's Ministers find themselves between the uppper millstone of the demand of the self-governing people of South Africa to be allowed to exercise the free right of excluding Indians from their country, and the nether millstone of the objection of the Indians to legislation which excludes Indians by name. Although it is a sad story of our helplessness, it is still encouraging that at least the Government of India has enough love for its own good name that it would not permit the world to be aware of its subjects being treated as the helots of the Empire. We welcome this sign, for it is, we hope, the

herald of the real resolve that would insist on not a single indignity or disability being placed on Indians because they are Indians".

Indians in the Colonies.

21. In referring to the opinion of a British Columbian regarding "Asiatic Immigration" in Canada the Madras Standard, of the 2nd July, says;--In any land which the white man is pleased to call his own, a yellow man or a brown man is not wanted for the simple reason that the latter has certain virtues by the aid of which ~~th~~ he is able to compete successfully with the 'white' man. He excites the jealousy of his white neighbours to such an extent that they are really afraid of the bread being taken out of their mouths by the coloured man if left to pursue his business career unchecked..................It seems to us that the colour question can be solved to the satisfaction of both parties only when the Western nations agree to confine their activities and ambitions to the land of their birth and to leave the Asistics to do what they like with their own natural resources, or when the Asiatics are able to combine and organize their powers effectively to roll back the tide of Western agression".

The selfishness of Australia.

23. In a leader on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 3rd July, says:--"It is well-known that a large portion of Australia is still uninhabited and this state of the Colony is considered to be a weakness to the Empire..................Here is a vast territory lying mainly in the tropics, as yet almost wholly uninhabited

and unexploited. Australian public opinion has laid down the rigorous condition that no black, brown, or yellow man shall be invited to aid in the work of development. Yet it is a vital necessity to Australia and the Empire that the country should as rapidly as possible be opened up and settled.....................
The only alternative to development by the white man o would be the introduction of coloured labour under strict indentures. But apart from the fact that Australian public opinion is greatly averse to what it regards as the semi-servile status of such labour, the Indian Government itself refuses to furnish any more workmen on these terms, and China will probably before long adopt a similar policy. On the other hand the introduction of free coloured labour is almost unthinkable to Australia. But we are afraid that she will have to give up sometime or other her present selfish policy. In her interests and as well as those of the Empire, the best course for her will be to allow the people of this country to migrate to the uninhabited parts and if she persists in her present course, she will only be endangering her own freedom and doing a disservice to the Empire".

The claims of Mussalmans and the British Government.

45. The Asafia Gazette, of the 1st July, quotes an item from the Times in which the latter paper, while reviewing the political sentiments of the Indian Mussalmans, asks the question: Has Government really recognized the claims of the Muslim community to any special concessions? To wit, has the partition of Bengal been

maintained to meet the desires of the Mussalmans? Have they been granted a University which is in accord with their wishes? Have they the privilege of separate representation in the Municipal Committees and District Boards? The paper adds that if the facts enumerated do not answer the question it is impossible to see what others of their special claims have been conceded to. It says that, if the foreign policy of England requires it, England's ministers are at liberty to assume an attitude which may be detrimental to the political interests of the Mussalmans, but it would be quite unreasonable to suppose that such action would not rouse feelings of discontent among the Mussalmans?

Self-consciousness of India.

52. The Swadesamitran, of the 25th June, reports Lord Lamington to have stated, before the East Indian Association in London, that England's work in India could not be said to be finished until India became capable of unanimously opposing a foreign enemy and observes:.-This view is quite correct. If the Indians are to become capable of unanimously opposing a foreign enemy, they should become conscious of the fact that they form a single nation. To enable them to have this self-consciousness, they should become one with the British Government, which rules over them, that is, the Indian representatives should become one with this Government. The fact that members from different Provinces now sit in the Imperial Legislative Council has created the consciousness that India is one country. Of course, this self-consciousness is still in the initial

stage. But even now, there is no doubt that the Indians will unanimously join the British in opposing a foreign enemy. If this self-consciousness is to become ripe, the British Government should not only bring about the Union of the Indian people, but also refrain from treating the Indian sepoys as mere paid servants and raise them to the position of Colonel, General, etc., and make them independently lead armies during wars, so that they may begin to feel that on them also rests the responsibility of protecting the country.

53. The Swadesamitran, of the 25th June, writes:--The Indian Emigration Act has, after all, been passed by the Union Parliament in South Africa. This Act was not published in any of the newspapers in India, though it contains provisions affecting the Indians in South Africa, nor was any reference made to it in the Legislative Councils here. The British Minister seems to have given his consent to it secretly. According to this Act, the Indians cannot move from one province to another in South Africa, though there is no such restriction in the case of other races, who have settled there. It curtails to a great extent even the few privileges now enjoyed by the Indians. It has therefore caused great dissatisfaction among the Indians. But there seems to be no remedy for it except resorting to the method of passive resistance again. The condition of the Indians in South Africa has been a source of disgrace and insult to the Indians generally for the last ten years or so. We have been dinning the Government of India and the British Government enough upon this subject and they say that they have done all that they could do for the Indians. Under these

Indians in South Africa.

circumstances, we are afraid that there is nothing else for the Indians to do than to treat this as one of their standing grievances and continue to agitate about it both in India and England.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 12TH JULY 1913.

No. 28 of 1913.

ENGLISH RAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

2. The weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 6th July, writes:-"The application for contempt of court brought by the Bengal Government against the Amrita Bazar Patrika in connection with certain of its comments on Brisal conspiracy case, the Calcutta High Court has dismissed with costs......................Naturally the High Court's action has been hailed with general satisfaction. The origin of what is known as contempt of court shows that proceedings should be instituted only under exceptional circumstances where the arguments employed would embarrass a Judge and Jury. Lord Carmichael is a courageous and broad-minded statesman who would never interfere with the liberty of the press, especially of a press like that of India, which has to do its duty under a most stringent Press Act, and we are sorry that his Government should have taken the present action".

The Amrita Bazar Patrika contempt case.

(k) General.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika in the House of Commons.

9. In a leader under the heading "Mr. Montagu's ignorance", the Madras Standard, of the 7th July, writes:--"In response to a question by Mr. O'Grady on the recent proceedings against the Amrita Bazar Patrika, Mr. Montagu gave the following answer:--'It is stated in the Press that the Amrita Bazar Patrika has been called upon to deposit security under the Press Act in consequence of its comments on the matter of the Jagatsi Asram, and has also been summoned for contempt by the Calcutta High Court for comments on a pending prosecution for conspiracy at Barisal. The Secretary of State has seen the article in question, but has no further information. It is open to the editor of the paper to appeal against the order of the Bengal Government as regards finding security to the Calcutta High Court, which is reported to have summoned him for contempt of court on its own initiative in the second case' In the last sentence Mr. Montagu makes two assertions both of which are false. It is a pity that he should have been mistaken even in regard to an important provision of the Press Act. He is labouring under the misconception that an appeal can be preferred against the order of the Government to deposit a security, which is unfortunately not the case. It is true there is a provision in the Act for an appeal to the High Court; but such a step is possible only when the security is forfeited to the Government and not when the security is asked from the journal. The ignorance on the part of the Under Secretary

of State is rather strange when we consider the advertisement which this provision of the Press Act received at the hands of Lord Minto in England................ The second mistake which the Under Secretary commits in that reply is in regard to the action that was taken against our contemporary. Mr. Montagu states that the editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika was summoned for contempt of court on the initiative of the High Court. We do not know whence he derived this precious information and no one in India need be told that the High Court did not at all contemplate such a step. In fact, when the Advocate General on June 6th, appeared before the Chief Justice with his application to issue summons for contempt of court, the latter insisted on making it perfectly clear that the initiative was taken by the local Government and not by any other agency.................. It is indeed to be regretted that an official of the importance of the Under Secretary of State, the sole authority on Indian affairs in the House of Commons, should be so ignorant of the real state of affairs in India. ....In the case of Mr. Montagu, events in in India have taken such a turn that he will soon find the falsity of the second remark in his reply to Mr. O'Grady. But in regard to the Press Act he will not perhaps improve his inadequate knowledge of its provisions and nothing but harm can result out of such a misconception, especially since the present Under Secretary of State is imbued with many truly liberal principles in his attitude toward this country".

14. The Madras Standard, of the 9th July, remarks:--"The Netal Government have introduced a Bill in

Indians in Netal.

their Provincial Legislature remitting the three pound tax on Indian women and not on men. The effect of this relief will be very insignificant on the Indian community which consists of a large majority of males. When the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was in South Africa, he was definitely assured that the tax would be completely abolished and he was even authorized to place that information at the disposal of his suffering countrymen. But now the Natal Government have thought fit to go back upon their promise. Although we are accustomed to such actions from that quarter, we never thought that they would be allowed to act in such a fashion by the Imperial Government which is keeping quiet now........... The removal of the obnoxious tax would have greatly diminished the resentment caused by the passing of the recent Emigration Bill and would thus have lessened the chances of passive resistance; and from this point of view, the continuance of the tax is only strengthening the hands of Mr. Gandhi in his coming campaign for an equitable and final settlement of the Indian question".

15. The Madras Standard, of the 10th July, observes:-

The Indian National Congress Presidentship.

"It will be seen from an article from the Phoenix of Karachi that the preparations for the next meeting of the Congress are slowly but steadily going on. It is also evident from the same source that four Provincial Congress Committees have already sent in their nominations in regard to the election of the President for the next session and till now the name of Nawab Syed Ahmed of Madras

has been suggested for that distinction. Our Karachi contemporary has for a long time been putting ~~fowar~~- forward the suggestion that a Muhammadan gentleman should be chosen as the next Président of the Congress. In view of the strained feelings between the supporters of the Congress and some others of our Moslem countrymen at Karachi, that proposal is sure to meet the approval of the public................The Madras Congress Committee, we think, has not yet bestirred itself in this respect. There is, of course, ample time at their disposal; for, according to the rules, they can postpone their nomination to the end of this month. Since there is also a chance of the honour of the Congress chair falling to the lot of one of their members, our committee can even afford to sent in its nomination long after it is overdue".

Indians in Canada.

16. In a leader under the heading, "a disgrace to the Empire", the Madras Standard, of the 10th July, says:-- "We have already referred in these columns to the difficulties of our countrymen in Canada and also to the work which their deputation to England has been doing in that country..............The most oppressive restriction which needs immediate repeal is the 'continuous journey clause' which excludes Indians from landing in the Dominion of Canada and is contained in executive order, P.C. 920, promulgated by the Governor-General of Canada on 9th May 1910....................
It is physically impossible for Indians to fulfil the terms of this order for the very sufficient reasons--

(a) that there is no direct steamship service between India and Canada, and

(b) that no steamship companies in India will issue through tickets to Canada.

The delegates from Canada point out in this connection that the Government of India should withdraw the protection under the Indian Shipping Laws which these Companies enjoy. Let the Government also warn them that they will not be allowed to touch at any of the Indian ports until they would freely condescend to provide passage to any Indians going to Canada without the slightest hitch. By doing so His Majesty's Indian subjects will be quite protected and the shipping companies will come to their senses and will learn a lesson. Another unjust restriction which presses heavily upon Indians is contained in the provisions or Order P.C. 926, also of May 9th, 1910:-- 'No immigrant of Asiatic origin shall be permitted to enter Canada unless in actual and personal possession in his or her own right of two hundred dollars, unless such person is a native or subject of an Asiatic country in regard to which special statutory regulations are in force or with which the Government of Canada has made a special treaty, agreement or convention'. Owing to special treaties with Japan and China, 400 Japanese are admitted yearly on showing that they possess fifty dollers in specie or negotiable securities, and Chinese are admitted without any restriction to their number on payment of a head tax of 500 dollars each. In the case of Indians, this Order becomes wholly inoperative on accouunt of the impossibility, as heretofore stated, of complying with the 'Continuous journey clause'. Consequently it was

not surprising that a large number of cases of hardships occurred ever since these vexatious regulations were made.................To any one who goes through these tales, there is nothing strange in the characterization of the treatment meted out to our countrymen as nothing less than 'a standing disgrace to Canada and the British Empire'".

21. The Kistnapatrika, of the 28th June, in its leader on "The South African problem" writes:--It

The South African problem.

is to be deeply regretted that the Indian Emigration Act has received the Royal assent on the 21st instant and is to be put into force on the 1st day of August. The hopes of the Indians have been shattered and the wishes of the Government of India have been disregarded. There is no hope; and there is no one to stop the welling flood of tears of the Indians in South Africa when Emperor George himself who has so much sympathy and affection for India had to give his assent to this most cruel Act. This Act is rendered more hard than that of 1911 and takes away even the few privileges which the Indians in Cape Colony and Natal possess. It is loudly proclaimed that the Indians are British citizens. There is no greater occasion for sorrow than when such British citizens are treated with disrespect in the British Empire itself. It is very difficult to define British citizenship when the Indians are not allowed to step into the British Colony of Australia, when no heed is paid to the plaintive cries of the Indians in Morrison Islands, when the

~~Indians are-not-allowed-to-step-into-the-British-Colony of-Australia,-when-~~ Indians are prohibited from taking their wives to Canada and when they are subjected to such humiliations in South Africa. Apparently the British Parliament are utterly helpless in this matter. Otherwise it is inexplicable how our most beloved King-Emperor could have the heart to assent to this iniquitous measure. It seems that the Indians in South Africa will now renew passive resistance under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi and it remains to be seen how long these poor Indians would be tortured by the South African Government. This Act until it is repealed would be a standing insult to the respect of the Indians and a menace to the stability of the British Empire. The country which has given birth to such humanitarians as Burke, Bright, Gladstone and Ripon cannot long treat this outrage with indifference. It is therefore incumbent on the Indians to pray for the sympathy of the English people and to record their resentment at this outrage in public meetings all over the country until the grievance is redressed. The Government of India should also honestly express its disapprobation of the measure in clear and unmistakable terms.

The South African Immigration Act.

22. The Desamata, of the 2nd July, in its leading article on "the South African Immigration Act" deeply regrets to note that this unjust Act has received the Royal assent on the 21st of last month in spite of the promises of the ministers and the plaintive cries of the Indians who complained bitterly at the injustice of the measure. The wonderful fortitude with which ~~they~~ the Indians put up with insult and disgrace and the utter selflessness with which they opposed

passive resistance to oppression have all resulted in the creation of this stringent Act which curtails even the few privileges that they now possess. The paper doubts if another recourse to passive resistance, as threatened by Mr. Gandhi, could serve to mend the situation when the British rulers have no sympathy for the Indians and the whites of South Africa are devoid of the sense of justice. It is quite against the wishes of the world and of his subjects that the Emperor himself should accord his sanction to this exercise of tyranny over his subjects in his own Empire. The paper hopes that the Government of India will take steps to safeguard the liberties of their citizens by making proper representations to the British ministers and the Emperor and exposing the gravity of the situation. It exhorts all the Indians to agitate constitutionally till an equal treatment of the Indian with the European is secured.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika contempt case.

28. Commenting on the "Amrita Bazar Patrika contempt case" the Desamata, of the 9th July, remarks that the defeat of the Government of Bengal in this case signifies the preservation, to some extent, of the freedom of the Press. The Calcutta High Court and its Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins have already won a widespread reputation as the guardians of popular rights. The decision in this case has the effect of creating the greatest public confidence in British justice. The Government of Bengal have also to be thanked as they have made it possible to definitely assert the freedom of the Press, though the action brought by them against the Patrika has been to curtail such freedom.

(k) General.

36. The Swadesamitran, of the 28th June, writes:--The

Military expenditure in India.

London Times complains that the Government of India is not devoting as much attention to the defence of the country as it does in the case of education and sanitation and observes that it will be neglecting one of its foremost responsibilities, if it grudges to increase its expenditure for the defence of the country on account of its having to incur heavy expenses on other matters. This makes us guess that the committee recently appointed by the Government to consider about the military expenditure in India has recommended a reduction of the same. Perhaps it is the fear that this recommendation may be acted upon that has made this paper suggest even an increase in the military expenditure. India is already spending enough of money on the army and any further increase in this expenditure will be too heavy a burden for her to bear. The memory of the mutiny of 1857 always makes the Times and other Anglo-Indian papers advocate a reduction of the Indian section of the army and an increase of the British section. But we would assure the Government that the Indians are ever ready to lose their lives in protecting the British Empire and this has been proved on many occasions. There are crores of people in India who are prepared to join the army and fight for the protection of their country and the British Empire and yet it is Englishmen who hold the higher appointments in every regiment now. If these are replaced by Indians, the

the present military expenditure will be reduced by more than half. Indians are not wanting in strength or valour, and it will not be self-praise to say that they are equal to and even superior to the Englishmen in every respect. But they have not been given any opportunity to show their capability. Experience shows that, if enlisted in the army, they prove to be as efficient as the whites. France has, for example, been recently forming regiments of negroes and giving them the same training that is given to the soldiers. In reply to a question by a British Colonel, the French Commander appears to have stated that the negroes, though black in colour, are in no way inferior to the whites and, if properly treated, they are more faithful than the latter. Though the Government of India and the British statesmen may not be prepared to reduce the strength of the British element in the army, we sincerely hope that they will at least try to prevent any addition to this element hereafter, by enlisting Indians whenever possible and thus reduce the military expenditure.

The condition of the depressed classes.

53. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st July, says:--It is a hopeful sign of the times that conferences are now being held annually in the Tanjore district with the object of improving the condition of the depressed classes. The grievances of this class of people are innumerable. What are the most important of them, how to get them redressed and how far it is possible for the Government to do this--these are questions which have soon

to be decided. Till now the Government has done nothing for the benefit of these people. There is no other class which labours so hard towards production in this country as the Panchamas. Though poor, there is no doubt that they are intelligent. However badly this class may be treated by the other peöple, there is no reason why the Government also should neglect them. So we hope a committee will soon be appointed by the Government to enquire about the grievances of this class of people.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 19TH JULY 1913.

No. 29 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The Cachar assault case.

2. Referring to the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in this case, the Indian Patriot, of the 15th July, says:--"What is known as Cachar assault case, which created a sensation in Bengal, has come to an end, justice asserting itself in the High Court............ The Deputy Commissioner lost his sense over this case. To him the cane appeared to be a 'dangerous weapon' Dutt pleaded self-defence and grave provocation, but the Deputy Commissioner would not hear. He easily setenced Dutt to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of two hundred rupees, in default a further term of three months' improsinment. Dutt appealed. It went before a Sessions Judge. This judicial worthy found that the 'dangerous weapon' of the Deputy Commissioner was only a walking stick, 'an ordinary walking cane'. He also found that Dutt belonged to the 'Bhadralog' class, that is, a respectable middle class man, and that the use of the word 'bugger' against Dutt was 'inexcusable'. But there the current of high-minded justice stopped, and narrowness regained sway. Dutt could not have understood the meaning of 'bugger'. There was no provocation.

And provocation, which Dutt pleaded, ought, in the opinion of the Sessions Judge, to be pleaded by Stuart, for was not Dutt's lie provocative enough to call him 'bugger'. And the Sessions Judge also found that Dutt ought to have retreated under such circumstances or waited till he could appeal to the manager against the conduct of the complainant. The Sessions Judge, therefore, remitted the fine and reduced the sentence to eight months. Dutt trudged up to the High Court and Mr. Justice Imam spread the wings of British justice over him. Dutt could understand the meaning of 'bugger' It has to be remembered that the protest of Dutt was in the main due to his objection to being abused in the presence of the coolies, and Stuart ought to have realized that the reproof given was enough; but he continued the provocation and heightened it when with his raised fist in the present of the coolies he took a step forward towards Dutt threatening to strike him. And as for Dutt pocketing the insult and complaining to the manager against his assistant Stuart it was giving 'undue credit to human nature'....................The result was Dutt was reclaimed from the prison after two and a half months, instead of eight months. The warning was administered to the Sessions Judge by the High Court that he ought to 'exercise a careful moderation in cases of this kind' But the High Court forgot the Deputy Commissioner who gave Dutt one year and a heavy fine. That Deputy Commissioner ought not to pollute the judicial atmosphere even for a minute. He must go. It is here the voice of the Indian Patriot rises prophetic, 'separate the judicial from the executive functions. Give us Judges who know law'".

Writing on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 15th July, remarks:--"Mr. Justice Hasan Imam of the Calcutta High Court recently delivered judgment in what is known as the Cachar assault case .... There are some features of this case which should not be lost sight of. The Deputy Commissioner described the usual walking stick as 'a dangerous weapon' though it had not even a weight at the end. Then, again, he did not at all think that there was sudden provocation and in this respect, Mr. Justice Imam had to remark that he was even ignorant of the law. Lastly, the sentence which he thought fit to pass for such an insignificant offence cannot be too strongly condemned. We may refer in this connection to a case which recently happened in Northern India where a coolie was punished heavily for assaulting a European. In his judgment the convicting Magistrate even remarked that it was necessaary for the safety of the Englishman in India that such a sentence should be passed. We may also recall the recent instance in Calcutta in which a coolie was fatally kicked by the manager of a jute mill, in which case the accused was let off with a fine of only Rs.20. These incidents, it must be noted, are of common occurrence in this country. Of course, their number is falling and very few remain unnoticed now in the Indian Press; but even this decrease points to one of the weakest spots in the judicial administration of this country ....The sooner steps are taken to check it, the better will it be for the people as well as the good name of the British Government".

21. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 12th July, observes:-

An unfortunate affair in British Guiana.

"In the June number of the Modern Review Mr. R.N. Sharma of Georgetown in British Guiana gives a harrowing account of the events that led to the shooting dead of 16 Indian coolies and the wounding of another 30 people by the Police at a sugar plantation in Berdice, British Guiana......... The Police from the very beginning seems to have exaggerated a petty incident into a pre-concerted plan to do something awful and they proceeded to quell a cooly riot with a maxim gun and plenty of ammunition! And all this for putting down 'a set of poor, thin faced, half-starving men' who were unarmed except for a few sticks and their agricultural implements. Under these circumstances the Police cannot be acquitted of having acted with undue haste and their action in firing two volleys on the crowd, as stated by Mr. Sharma--who exerted his influence with his countrymen on a former occasion and settled their troubles with their employers, for which he was thanked by the Magistrate--requires to be carefully investigated".

22. In a leader under this heading the United India and Native States, for the week ending 12th July, writes:--"We think that the question to which the

India and the British Labour Party.

Times of India has drawn prominent attention is one deserving earnest attention on the part of the Indian

public leaders who will do well to consider whether their alliance with the Labourities after all is one conducive to the best interests of India. With regard to the disabilities to which Indian settlers in South Africa and other Colonies are subjected there is reason to believe that the Labourites have ranged themselves in favour of the harsh policy of exclusion and persecution adopted by the Colonists. Of course Labour members are profuse in their sympathy for Indians and their political aspirations; but such sympathy in words unaccompanied by practical proofs, ought not to count for much with the Indians...............Above all our leading public ~~pub~~ men ought never to forget or ignore the fact that the interests of the Indian people and those of the English labouring classes can never be identical.............The English labouring classes will support Indians in their aspirations only so long as these do not come in conflict with their own interests and it needs no demonstration that the support accorded on such one-sided conditions cannot be of much value to India. For these reasons we hope that our public men will heed the timely warning of our Bombay Anglo-Indian contemporary. The connection between the Labour Party in England and the advanced political party in India can never be beneficial to India and we think that this should be recognized".

23. The Travancore Times, of the 15th July, writes:- "We have already in these columns made reference to the hardships which our countrymen are subject to in Canada. They have now sent a deputation to England to plead their cause before the Mother of Parliaments. From

Indians in Canada.

a statement issued by the delegates we see a vivid representation of their grievances-.................. The account of the Indians in Canada clearly shows their hard lot in that country. It is sad that the Canadian Government cannot extent unto them their loving sympathy. Though their affair may be included under internal jurisdiction we earnestly desire that that the Home Government will bring their influence to bear upon that Government so as to give every relief to them".

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Vernacular Papers.

I. Foreign Politics.

26. The Bharatamata, of the 9th July, in its leader on "The sad plight of the Indians in South" writes:--The poison of envy, when it enters the blood ad spreads all over the body, paralyses wisdom and produces the disease of cruelty. This disease in its turn creates an insatiate thirst for obstructing the freedom of others. There is only one guiding principle, the principle of tyranny, for the destruction of popular freedom. This principle is a unique tenet of Western statecraft. It manifests itself in two ways; directed against the ordinary people, it takes the shape of cruel laws, and directed against equals, it results in an appeal to arms. Wherever the Indians are present, they are subjected to tyranny. The tyranny of the South Africans, unparallelled in history, has created a supreme discontent among the Indians there. Rulers that forsake the path of justice are enemies to the ruled, and hearts with self-respect cannot put up with insult. The hardships the Indians sufferd while resisting these cruel laws are overwhelming. Even women have exhibited admirable courage. Every class, without distinction, has openly condemned the wickedness of the South Africans. The efforts of such men like Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Pollock and Mr. Gandhi to remedy the state of affairs have all proved fruitless before the supreme obstinacy of the South Africans, whose hearts have been rendered harder instead of being softened by the words of advice from these liberal-hearted men. Even before the passing of

The sad plight of the Indians in South Africa.

the new Act many inhuman restrictions have been imposed upon the Indians; and the new Act has quenched the last ray of Indian freedom. It makes it impossible for Indians to stay in South Africa. The Indians cannot freely marry, and the world-famed chastity of the Indian wife cannot entitle her to the protection of the South African Laws. It comes as a regrettable surprise that our most beloved Emperor who had the liberality to declare that in our prosperity lies his own, and who was born and bred up in a race who look upon their women as the guardian angels of their homes, had given his assent to this barbarous and inhuman measure.

The cries of the Indians in South Africa.

27. A correspondent to the Bharatamata, of the 9th July, publishes a few verses depicting "the cries of the Indians in South Africa", one of which runs in the following strain:--"We have been beset with demons. King hearts! come to our rescue. Oh brethren! tigers in goatskins are trying to devour us, kindly save us from their clutches. O countrymen! save us from the wild-fire with which we are surrounded. A sea of troubles heaves up to a swallow us; kinsmen of our blood! save us from this peril. Hard laws have bound us hand and foot and we cannot move a step. Indians! you are the only barks that can help us to tide over these troubles"

(h) Railways.

The Government and the Railways in India.

34. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th July, says:--We understand that the question of the management of the railways in India is now being considered by the Government. In our opinion a thorough consideration of this subject is quite necessary. Though these

railways are laid with Indian money and are managed with the money paid by Indian merchants and people, the railway companies do not pay any attention to the convenience of the Indians. They give one kind of treatment to the Indian merchants and quite another to the foreign merchants. The rates charged for carrying Indian goods to the ports are very heavy. As a matter of fact, the rates charged by these companies, either for goods or passengers, are higher than those charged in other countries. All the higher appointments under these companies are held by foreigners and not by Indians. If the latter have any grievances against the former, the Government has not sufficient powers to get them redressed. Besides these, strikes have become very frequent. So, if it is true that the Government is considering about the management of the railways in India, we hope all the subjects mentioned above will be duly considered by it. Though the railway lines in India, covering about forty thousand miles in length, may continue to be under the management of foreign companies, the income derived therefrom, excluding the five or six per cent taken by these companies as profit, should go to the Government of India and this Government should take the responsibility of guarding the interests of Indian trade and Indian passengers. Instead of this, these railway companies are now considered to be the masters and the Indians their servants.

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38. Referring to a circular issued by the Inspector-General of Police in Bengal to his subordinates

The meaning of the world "SWADESI"

in which he says that the word "Swadesi" is wrongly used by many Police officials to denote those who are hostile to Government and that this should be avoided in the future, the Swadesamitran, of the 12th July, observes:--The word "Swadesi" means ~~on~~ one having an affection for his country. This meaning is now ignored and the word is made to refer to those who buy only Indian goods and boycott foreign articles. The Government has no objection to the movement that Indians should buy only Indian goods. It can even be said to have a sympathy for this. Still a seditionist working against the Government, one who wishes to subvert the British Government itself, an anarchist--all thse are described as "staunch Swadesis" by the Police. This is wrong. We are really surprised that the Police officers in Bengal were not warned about this earlier. The word "Swadesi" is wrongly used in this way not only in Bengal but even in other Presidencies. During the time of Lord Minto as Viceroy of India, and Sir Arthur Lawley as ~~Government~~ Governor of Madras, the Swadesi movement was conducted very actively in the country and the Government, being afraid of this, made many attempts to suppress it. Though these attempts referred only to acts contrary to law, the teasing of the Police created an impression upon the public mind that the Government was against the Swadesi spirit. From that time the Swadesi spirit has disappeared from South India. Granting this, what is there in the word "Swadesi"? In every country and even in England, there is no merchant who does not prefer Swadesi to foreign Goods. In India itself, Lord Minto and other

responsible officials have often stated that they were not against Swadesism. It will be better if the Inspectors-General of Police in other Provinces also issue a similar circular.

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VI. Miscellaneous

50. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th July, writes:--There

Indians in the British Colonies.

are nearly 4,500 Sikhs now permanently settled in the British Colony of Canada. All of these are retired military pensioners, who once served in the army in India, and have invested about 2¼ crores of rupees on lands and industries in that Colony. These are treated fairly well by the Colonial Government and they do not suffer the hardships to which the Indians in South Africa are subject to. Nevertheless, they have got one grievance and that is--the Indians who wish to go to Canada should travel direct, without alighting in any place on the way. This is felt to be a hardship because there is no shipping company which issues through tickets to Canada and so people going to Canada have to land at one of the ports in China and then resume their journey. This regulation was brought into force only in 1907 and it therefore prevents the Sikhs now in Canada, all of whom had settled there before 1907, from sending for their wives and children, who continue to be in India. Three Sikhs have now come here with the object of representing this grievance to the Government of India and seeking its intervention for the redress of the same. We are sure the Colonial

Government will be prepared to remove this difficulty if only the Government of India and the British Government will put in a word in this behalf. There need be no fear that, if the existing restriction is removed, crowds of Indians will flock into Canada. The fare from India to Canada is Rs.400/- and every foreigner getting into Canada has to show to that Government that he has no less than Rs.600 with him. Thus no Indian can hope to go there, unless he has at least Rs.1,000 in his hands. Moreover, the number of Indians who can get into Canada may be restricted as is done in the case of the Japanese.

Leaving this alone, we are at a loss to know why these Sikhs, whose valour and courage as sepoys is admitted, even by the Englishmen, to be unparalleled, were allowed by the Government to go to Canada. We think it was the duty of the Government of India to have prevented the emigration of these people, by giving them proper pensions and creating facilities for them for acquiring estates and carrying on industries in India itself. We have often been suggesting that the Government should try to ascertain the condition of the Indians in the several Colonies, which form part of the British Empire. These, numbering not less than ten lakhs, are also British subjects, and so the Government should not allow their being driven almost to the verge of barbarism for want of education and religious and moral training. The Colonial Governments do not take any interest in the education; nor is any attention paid to their morale. As for their religion, it is not

at all cared for, inasmuch as the Government follows a different religion. Thus more than ten lakhs of Indians are becoming barbarians, even though they live within the British Empire and are themselves British subjects. It is the duty of Indian leaders like Mr. Gokhale to point this out to the Government of India and seek some remedy for it.

51. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th July, writes:- In speaking at a recent meeting at London, Lord Sydenham is reported to have stated as follows:--

Lord Sydenham and the people of India.

"Though India is progressing very fast pecuniarily, a certain class of the people are always opposed to the Government. Though the people belonging to this class are only a few, they have a good deal of influence and many young men have been ruined with their families on account of their having listened to the advice of these people. The only way of checking the evils resulting from the influence of this class, is to satisfy the loyal citizens, who form the majority, and gain them over to the side of the Government. We should also bring to our side the educated classes. If only these will give up agitating about trifling and dangerous questions connected with politics and devote their attention to questions affecting their social progress, India will advance far more wonderfully than is desired even by those who emphasise its necessity".

We wish to point out two mistakes in this speech. The statement that there exists a small, though influential, class of people who are always opposed to

the Government is an incorrect one. Our opinion is that there is no such class and that there are not sufficient proofs to show that such a class exists. If such a class were in existence, it could not have hidden itself from the Government and the popular leaders for such a long time. The other incorrect statement of Lord Sydenham is that the educated classes in India do not devote as much attention to questions affecting their social reform as to trifling questions connected with politics. It is not that they do not pay any attention to social reform; but any amount of work turned out by them in this direction does not produce such bright results as will be patent to the Englishmen. Many reforms have been ~~introduced~~ introduced in Hindu society. But the Englishmen always stand aloof and so cannot understand them. Political questions are not like this. The least effort that is made by the educated classes catches the eye of the Englishmen, as it affects them in some way or other. This is why they wrongly think that the educated classes concern themselves only with politics and do not pay any attention to social problems.

Then again Lord Sydenham said that we were dabbling with trifling and dangerous questions connected with politics. The subjects in which Indians take an interest are education, sanitation, industries, etc., and these cannot be said to be trifling and dangerous. Moreover it is not always possible to differentiate between trifling and important questions when dealing with politics. The people cannot afford to be silent about things affecting their convenience, whether they are big or small.

52. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th July, says:-- The most important grievance of the Indians in Natal is that they are made to pay £3 every year as capitation tax. As this tax is levied upon men and women alike, many of the latter find it hard to pay it and suffer thereby. When the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was in Natal last year, the Colonial Government promised to abolish this tax and the Indians were gladly expecting at least this benefit from his visit to South Africa. But we now understand that the Colonial Government has decided to abolish this tax only in the case of women. If this is true, it will not give much satisfaction to the Indians; for there are very few Indian women in Natal. However this may be, the present action of the Colonial Government does not correspond to the information given by it to Mr. Gokhale. To say one thing and do another seems to be the nature of these Governments. We learn that Mr. Gokhale has already drawn the attention of the Ministers in England to this decision of the Colonial Government. But we cannot expect anything from this, as the British Ministers will, as usual, say that they do not like to interfere with the action of the Colonial Governments. So, there is only one way for the Indians in Natal for getting rid of this grievance as well as several others, and that is the method of passive resistance. If this method is adopted, many Indian women will be naturally sent to jail for refusing to pay this tax, and the Colonial Government will have to maintain them during their imprisonment. When they come

Capitation tax levied on Indians in Natal.

out of jail again for refusing to do so. This will not only place the Colonial Government in a fix, but will also lower it in the eyes of the world. The British Ministers may then perhaps interfere out of sympathy. But how long are the Indians to be suffering like this?

53. The Gnanodaya, of the 15th May (received on the 14th July), has a short story, purporting to be a translation of what appeared in the Modern Review, in which the writer holds up to ridicule the conduct of a European second-class passenger who, in his determination not to allow any Indian to travel in the same compartment with him, behaved rather "arrogantly" towards a Swadeshi preacher, who had purchased a second-class ticket, by refusing him entrance into the compartment and hurling him down on the platform. Some of those that accompanied him to the station got exasperated, dragged the European traveller from his seat and belaboured him severely. He was badly hurt. The whole town was greatly agitated about the matter. The District Magistrate gave strict injunctions to the Police to investigate the matter carefully. The Town Sub-Inspector made a few arrests. He told the District Magistrate in the Club that a constable and two chowkidars were present at the scene of the disturbance, who could identify the accused and bear witness to the facts of the case. The District Magistrate, not satisfied, wanted the Sub-Inspector to get better evidence, the latter thereupon most unscrupulously

"Speedy retribution"

makes some more arrests, and in concocting evidence causes great annoyance to an innocent and honest Hospital Assistant that refuses to perjure himself at his request, by maliciously arresting his two sons and applying for and obtaining a search warrant against him. While executing the warrant, the Sub-Inspector finds a bottle containing poison in the doctor's house, and pours it down his throat mistaking it for brandy. He instantly takes ill, and is saved by the very doctor towards whom he has behaved so heartlessly. The assault case is then tried, the two sons of the doctor are honourably acquitted, and the other accused sent to the jail.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 26TH JULY 1913.

No. 30 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The Indian National Congress.

26. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 20th July, has the following:-- "Karachi is the place where the Congress will meet this year, and in a few days the name of the President will be known. But there is hardly any enthusiasm for the Congress anywhere in India, and if the public come to know that in many parts of the country the wires are pulled by a handful of men, what interest it excites will also vanish. In this Presidency very few people care to know anything about it; and if the Congress is not reconstituted and its programme revised, even those who now call themselves Congressmen will grow indifferent. An All-India organisation of the kind is necessary. But it should be a representative body and not the instrument of any class or party".

The proposed United League of Hindus and Muhammadans.

28. In a leader under the heading "The duplication of organisations" the Madras Standard, of the 22nd July, writes:--"The cry for the duplication of national organisations is being

set up in this country. Some time back, the President of the last Session of All-India Moslem League put forward a suggestion for the organisation of a United League of Hindus and Muhammadans to look after the common interests of these two and the other communities in this country. That estimable gentleman did not go further and explain why one more such organisation was needed when there is already the National Congress looking after the same work...............This cry for the multiplication of organisations when there is already one in the field is, no doubt, due chiefly to the popular idea that our national institutions require drastic changes. It is generally felt that both the Congress and the Conference are very inert bodies which require a thorough overhauling to make them more useful to the country. Another reason why this duplication is advocated seems to be to desire of our fellow countrymen, who had till now held themselves aloof from national activities, to participate in them in the future. It has now become obvious to our Muhammadan countrymen that their salvation as well as that of our common motherland depends only upon our mutual friendship and co-operation and not at all in separation".

29. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 23rd July, has the following:--"The Turko-Italian and Balkan wars, as well as the situation in Persia, have helped in drawing public attention to the position of Indian Moslems in the scheme of the British Empire, and have also given, though indirectly, a fresh turn to the Hindu-Moslem

Indians Moslems and British rule.

relations. For some time past it has been clear that a considerable body of Indian Moslems have felt dissatisfied with the attitude of the Imperial Government in respect of the Balkan war, and they were charged with indifference to the Moslem interests. Politically speaking, the charge was unreasonable, even supposing that the Imperial Government did not actively intervene on behalf of Muhammadans in the recent wars. Britain, as a neutral Power, could not very well be expected to side with the one or the other of the belligerents, and thus disturb the balance of power in Europe........ It has been contended on behalf of the Moslems, that as Britain directs the destinies of the largest number of Moslem subjects, it has a moral duty by them, and must guard their religious interests in or outside British territory. That, we believe, is the main contention of those who express dissatisfaction with the British attitude in the recent wars. But the critics forget the position of Britain as a world power and the obligations of the Imperial Government to the rest of the Empire ....What the British Government can be reasonably expected to do is so protect the interests of Muhammadans who are their subjects in whatever part of the world they might be for the time being. Beyond that they cannot go, and it is unreasonable to expect them to overstep the limits imposed upon them by international laws and understandings................. In the first place the Indian Moslems should not seek to interfere with the foreign policy of England which is governed by circumstances which the Moslems here

cannot adequately realise. English foreign policy is solely governed by the relations of England with the nations of Europe and Indian Moslems have no place there. And again it must be borne in mind that neither Turkey nor Persia or any other Muhammadan Power for that matter will be suffered by the British Government to interfere between them and their Moslem subjects, and they expect a similar attitude on the part of Turkey or Persia".

35. The Desamata, of the 16th July, in its leader on this subject, writes:--

Indians in Canada.

Already troubled sorely as we are with the passing of the South African Emigration Act, the hard lot of the Indians in Canada disposes us to doubt if there can ever be an end to our misfortunes. The large sums of money which the Indians in Canada have invested in land and in commercial enterprise testify to a desire on their part to settle down permanently in that country. This has excited the jealousy of the white people and two new restrictions that are ridiculous and disgraceful have been imposed by the Canadian Government in May 1910. The Indian, a British subject, to be admitted into Canada, is required not to break his voyage. He has further to show a sum of 200 dollars on landing while only 50 dollars are required to be shown by a Jap, a foreigner. Thus the Indian British citizen is not even accorded the privileges of the foreigner. It is highly regrettable that our rulers have left us to the care of Provindence while foreign Governments ensure the privileges of their

subjects by means of treaties or other methods. We hope that our Government will take steps to remedy such acts of injustice and maintain the prestige of the British citizen in the British Empire.

In a short article on the same subject the Sasilekha, of the 22nd July, observes that while the Japs and Chinamen are permitted to reside in Canada, the Indians alone are prohibited. Even Emperor George, the Imperial Parliament, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India proved themselves unable to uphold the dignity of the Indian who has really become helpless under the British administration. The fact that the Indian is not allowed to step into the British Colonies while people of different countries are allowed a happy sojourn in India is, doubtless, a stain on the character of the British system of administration.

36. In a leading article dwelling at length on the disabilities of Indian settlers in South Africa,

The Indians in South Africa.

the Satyadipike, of the 16th July, observes:--It would be a mistake to suppose that either the Government of India or the Home Government countenance this attitude of the colonies. The Government of India have all along been trying their best to secure a fair treatment to their subjects in South Africa. The Secretary of State for India, too, has more than once tried to grapple with the situation which was even made a subject of parliamentary debate. All this goes to prove that the British authorities both here and in England look

upon these restrictions upon Indian emigrants with positive disfavour. Thanks, principally, to the unceasing exertions of Lord Ampthill in the cause of these Indian sufferers, the stringent laws sought to be imposed upon them were somehow averted last year and promises were secured which led to the hopes that these differences would be settled amicably, and agitation ceased for a time. Again, when the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale visited South Africa recently even more liberal promises were made to him. But now the Indian Immigration Restriction Act passed by the Union Parliament has suddently shattered all these hopes and expectations. The severity of his new measure has produced a huge ~~and expectations. The severity of this new measure has produced a huge~~ wave of wonder and disgust from one end of this country to the other. Now that it is about to be submitted for His Majesty's assent, the Indians in South Africa have resolved to persistently defy the measure and patiently bear the consequences. Protest meetings are being held in all parts of India and representations sent to His Excellency the Viceroy for communication to His Majesty that the Royal assent should be withheld. In the meantime Lord Ampthill has written a letter to the Times so as to arouse the interest of the (British) public in this problem. We may, therefore, expect that the Parliament will discuss and settle this grave question at no distant date.

III. Legislation.

49. In tracing the development of journalism in India, the Andhrakesari, of the 18th July,

The Indian Press.

in an article on "The Indian Press" observes that the

/Indians Press/ repressive administration of Lord Curzon coupoed with the new spirit awakened by the Russo-Japanese war gave a fresh impetus to the development of national life in India, which was reflected in the increased activity of the press till 1908. When the pulse of the country had resumed a normal beat after the excitement of the Bengal Partition was over, journalism declined and the enactment of the Indian Press Act of 1908 added to the decline.

The Desamata, of the 16th July, voices fourth the same views as are contained in the above and adds:-- The scare of the Press Act shackles the hands of the press and the evil cannot be removed unless the liberal Government Lord Hardinge come to its relief. An atmosphere devoid of liberty of speech and press can never be healthy, and the people cannot be happy. The paper suggests that, as the Government have other means to punish criminal writers, the Press Act may be repealed and liberty of press restored.

India and the Indians.

54. In a leader describing the methods adopted by the people of India in ancient days to maintain their unity and condemning the apathy of the people at present in working for the progress of the country as a whole, the Vaisyamitran, of the 7th July, observes:--We have left every public duty, such as the working of a scheme for water-supply

and the improvement of the education of the people, in the hands of foreigners. Should we thus abandon all our efforts and wean away our minds, nay, even our hearts, from mother Bharata? We often complain that enormous amounts of money are being taken away from India to foreign countries. But when the very heart of India has been won over by the foreigners and every virtuous duty connected with India has passed over into the hands of a foreign Government, what is there left for us? Is not this drain more regrettable than even a drain of money. What! are the foreigners always to be supplying us with food, water, etc? If we are not satisfied with what is thus supplied to us by the Government, we raise our voice a little and then keep quiet. Is this all our duty? Surely not. Every one among us should help, as much as he can, the work of acquiring what is necessary for the country! The time has come for our community to become a big swadesi community. The time has come for every one among us to realise that he is not alone and that, however low may be his status, the community cannot carry on its work without him.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 2ND AUGUST 1913.

No. 31 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

~~14. The-following-appears-in-the-Se~~

The Swadeshi movement.

15. In referring to the report of the Registrar of Joing Stock Companies in Bengal for the year 1912-13- the West Coast Spectator, of the 26th July, remarks:--"Every now and then we hear exultant cries from interested parties, of course, that the Swadeshi movement has been a failure, especially in the land of its inception, Bengal. Ango-Indian papers of a certain type are never tired of telling the world that the movement is spurious, that the public as a body, except a handful of agitators, has not taken to it. But commercial statistics issued by Government silently but forcibly point out that the Swadeshi movement is as strong as ever. It has, in fact, only ceased to be noisy, but the progress is steady and substantial......... This general advance in the commercial and industrial progress must not, however, induce our people to any reckless adventure. They must proceed with caution and care. We state this here because we find that in Bengal several trading and insurance companies failed,

as they were started by inexperienced persons without sufficient funds or knowledge 'during the last few years of the Swadeshi mania' Here is a warning and we trust our people will profit by it. We must not show reckless, indecent haste to advance the material progress of the land".

The South African Immigration Bill.

17. In a leader on this subject, the United India and Native States, for the week ending 26th July writes:--"The Orange Free State has earned the most unenviable notoriety for ill-treating and excluding Indians, and it is therefore hardly the proper training ground for a Minister who is expected to deal with the Indian question in a spirit of sympathy and broad statesmanship. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the several obvious features of this unrighteous enactment, the most glaring is the insidious attempt to deprive the Indian emigrants of the right of appeal from the decision of the Immigration Boards to the law courts. Perhaps the greatest condemnation of the Bill is to be found in the fact that it does not safeguard the interests of Indians who have so long been residents in South Africa, and who have special claims on the Imperial Government, by whom they are apparently to be abandoned to the tender mercies of the South African oligarchs, although, according to Lord Lansdowne, one of the causes of the Boer War was this continued ill-treatment and oppression of Indians by the Government of 'Oom Paul'......................
Under the present Colonists, Indians are in a truly pitiable plight, which compares unfavourably with the state of affairs prevailing at the time of Kruger............

That the present measure is an unjust one, which will operate harshly against the British Indian subjects of the King-Emperor, and as such is entirely unacceptable to them, will be abundantly clear from the Hon'ble Mr. Schreiner's criticisms of the Bill in Parliament...... ....Indians throughout this country will be profoundly disappointed and shocked if a legislative enactment which presents so many objectionable features is sanctioned by the Imperial Government as that will be tantamount to leaving the Indians in South Africa to their own fate. Such a situation is unthinkable and we hope that the Liberal Ministry will be true to its traditions and do justice to the Indians by promptly disallowing this racial legislation as proposed by a handful of alien Boers".

Lord Crewe and the South African Immigration Bill.

19. The Hindu, of the 31st July, writes:--"Reuter has wired today a summary of the discussion which took place yesterday in the House of Lords on the South African question, and Lord Crewe's reply, weak and in certain places irrelevant, will be read with dismay and indignation throughout India. Throughout this long and painful controversy, there have been few occasions on which the Imperial Government have not openly sympathised with the claims of British Indians and approved of their policy, and that all this talk should end in the perpetuation of the disgraceful treatment of Indians by the Union Government X is hardly a matter calculated to uphold the prestige of Br. Govt. ....Lord Crewe has, so far as Indian questions are concerned, not been happy in the enunciation of principles. If His Lordship's attempt to

explain away the famous paragraph III was poor, his proposition as to the inevitability of oppression in South Africa--for it amounts to this--is preposterous. We would like to know why, if persecution by the white settlers of South Africa of the coloured race is inevitable--for the Imperial authorities think any interference unwise--the power of veto is retained by the Imperial Government, and a separate Secretary of State is maintained to look after the Colonies. We would like to go further and ask what Lord Crewe's office is there for, if not to influence His Majesty's Government to exercise the power of veto in regard to a legislation which is admittedly unjust, improper and unimperial? Lord Crewe speaks of the unwisdom of forcing on South African statesmen a policy. But is the policy of sitting by, when one race oppresses another, the correct one? Lord Crewe tamely and without any apparent purpose speaks of the advantage which South African Ministers had in hearing the views of such an eminent Indian gentleman like Mr. Gokhale. Is His Lordship aware of how shamefacedly the understanding made to Mr. Gokhale of repealing the £3 tax in Natal is being kept?"

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 1st August, says:--"The Immigration Bill becomes law today in South Africa. That sincere friend of India, Lord Ampthill, once more raised his voice on behalf of the people, and Lord Sydenham supported him. But diplomacy had its sway, and what love of India, claims of humanity and imperialism dictated was brushed aside in the House of Lords................They do not

wish to interfere with the white voters in the game of oppression of the black Indian subjects of His Majesty. Let them not compel the white, but let them permit the black to do what they can. Let the voice of the three hundred millions of Indians in India prevail, and tomorrow we will call back from South Africa every man, woman and child belonging to us and block the way of communication between them and us. We are born and are proud to be the subjects of His Majesty King George V, but we are never born to be enslaved by the white voter, as Lord Crewe calls him, of South Africa. When next time Mr. Gokhale moves a resolution to stop indentured emigration, let no official voice say no; when Surendranath Bannerjee proposes that absolutely no relation shall exist between India and South Africa of any kind, let no voice be raised on behalf of the South African whites. Let every municipality and local board tax every British Colonist in their jurisdiction; let them raise barriers between one district and another; let taxes be collected from them for their liberty; let them be told that they cannot join their wives and children in India, and let them be forced back from Bombay to their native places in the same steamer. All this they are doing to us, and why not we retaliate?

"To Indians in India the day dawns with particular humiliation. They have been associated with the feelings of their countrymen in the Transvaal most closely. They have followed the course of the Bill with an interest that is remarkable. Every throb in an Indian heart in the Transvaal had its response from a million hearts here.

To them the news that the last great effort of Lord Ampthill has failed, that the weight, dangling hitherto before their eyes, against which desperate protests have been made, has at last fallen on the body of every one of our countrymen, and that all that the British Government could do was to ask Lord Crewe to speak some honeyed words of idle sympathy, will come with pognant humiliation..............The eyes of Indians in South Africa will be turned towards their own Government. They will turn to Lord Hardinge, and in mute eloquence ask whether he would endure that Indians ahall be helpless before the white voters? It is inconceivable that Lord Hardinge, who could love us so well as to say that he would love us still, even when the Indian assassin had almost killed him, should not feel for our country-men abroad. He can show his love to us only be retaliating against South Africa. Even the worm must turn when trod upon. From a crowded meeting in the United Provinces, the demand went out only a week ago--retaliate. We must retaliate, and ferociously retaliate, for it has become to be looked upon as civilisation to be cruel and unreasonable. If Britain cannot coerce the white voters to be humane and just to us, Britain ought not to coerce the Indian Government not to retaliate".

The Karnataka, of the 2nd August, observes:--"Even the owl has sung a benediction on behalf of our distressed brethren in South Africa. The Times, that well-known friend of India, has recognised that Indian objection to the South African Immigration Bill which became law yesterday, is 'well based' and takes Lord Gladstone

and the Colonial office to task for having remained apathetic towards Indian claims................ It is really a misfortune that Lord Crewe, who has the reputation of being a staunch liberal, took shelter behind convenient suppositions and diplomatic phrases in a matter of such grave importance to a large section of His Majesty's loyal subjects and to the empire................As for us, who so sincerely sympathise with our suffering countrymen there, the duty clearly is to induce the Indian Government to retaliate and show the treatment which the white colonists merit for having upset the scales of justice and shamelessly failed in the word which they so solemnly and repeatedly gave to India".

20. The Hindu, of the 2nd August, writes:--"Lord Crewe made an important pronouncement in the House of Lords on the 31st ultimo in regard to certain contemplated changes in the India Office, and the constitution of the Council of the Secretary of State for India..................The most important point with regard to the India Council is the question of the necessity for its existence. Lord Crewe seems to have come to a conclusion more or less definite on the subject. He said that, even if he could, he would not part with the Council, and declared that in this, he was supported by men of larger experience............ He did not, therefore, propose to abolish the Council or deprive it of its powers. We are not sure that Lord Crewe has yet had an opportunity of hearing all sides of the question as to the abolition or retention of the India Council. The question must be new to him. He is not only a new comer to the India Office with a mind of blank ignorance on Indian subjects when he

The proposed changes in the India Office.

came to it, but even since his arrival, by reason of his illness, and the large share of attention which Home politics, claims from him in his office as Leader of the House of Lords, he could not have acquired a deep acquaintance with the subject in all its bearings. The opinion of the educated Indian public as well as of the unbiassed portion of Anglo-Indian opinion have long ago declared in favour of the abolition of the India Council and before, finally committing himself to a decision on the subject, it behoves Lord Crewe to acquaint himself with all the literature that is to be found on the matter ....In the case of a Secretary of State like Lord Crewe, who has insufficient time to study Indian subjects, the Council would no doubt, as His Lordship observed, be a source of strength, the effect of which would, however, be that the decisions of the Council, the majority of whose members are Anglo-Indian officials, would ripen into the decisions of the Secretary of State--a questionable result so far as the interests of India and her people are concerned. On the other hand, it is common knowledge that when Lord Morley held the reins of the office of Secretary of State for India his Council acted on several occasions as an obstructive clog upon his proposals for the better government of India......... The Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament ought to look more and more for guidance in the future in respect of matters of Indian administration to the wishes and sentiments of the Indian people, as recorded in the proceedings of the Legislative Councils and other representative bodies, and the people of India must have the right preserved to them of having the acts of the local officials effeciently scrutinised by the Secretary of State and the

British Parliament. A body like that of the India Council is an anachronism and a cumbersome superfluity in the machinery of the Indian Government".

Writing on this subject the Madras Standard, of the 2nd August, says:--"The speech of Lord Crewe in the House of Lords is a full forecast of the reform of the India Council which he intends to undertake in the next Session. That Council has long been a target for persistent criticism and recent events mainly connected with the Oudh murder case and the 'India Office Finance' must have brought home to the Secretary of State that further delay in reforming the Council would be dangerous....................The Council, as at present constituted, has very little authority by itself. By statute it is only an advisory body, and the Secretary of State can, whenever he finds it necessary, completely ignore even its unanimous verdict. It was generally regarded by many civilians as a safe retreat after the usual period of service in India and many of them choose to remain members even after they are too old to do any active work. Till very recently it had no Indian members and was generally composed of Anglo-Indians imbued with no sympathy for the people of this country. Persons like Mr. Hume or Sir Henry Cotton found no berth in it, and thus, so far as the people of this country are concerned, no regret need be expressed for its exit, giving place to a new and what purports to be a more active Council.

"Lord Crewe does not think it advisable to do away with his Council. He has even pleaded for its perpetuation and very few will deny the wisdom of his decision".

30. Referring to a constant demand felt for an increase of the Judges in the High Courts, however hard they may work, to meet adequately the requirements of growing litigation, the Andhraprakasika, of the 30th July, in its leader headed "What is the end", writes:--

What is the end?

In a criminal case brought by Mr. Stuart, an Assistant Manager in one of the tea plantations of Assam, against Mr. Behari Dutt, justice could not be had until the High Court was reached by appeal. There are Judges and Magistrates who visit the Indian accused with very severe punishments when the Europeans are the complainants, but let off the European accused with light punishments when the Indians are the complainants. These Judges who are employed in the service of a Government, who boldly proclaim that all their subjects are equal in the eyes of the law, suffer injustice to prevail on account of their inability or reluctance to be even handed without distinction of class or creed. So long as there are such Judges there can be no limit to the appeals preferred to the High Court and no satisfaction with any increase in the number of Judges of that Court. The Judges who give unjust decisions moreover serve to arrest the growth of ~~the~~ a thoroughly loyal attachment on the part of the people to their Government.

41. The Bharatamata, of the 23rd July, in its leader on "The Indian Press", observes that, among other causes, the enactment of the hard Indian Press act has contributed to the decline of journalism in India .

The Indian Press.

The repressive activity of this Act has crushed many newspapers already tottering on weak foundations. Many a proprietor of newspapers, apprehending a violation of self-respect under the rigid operation of this Act, as the only reward for the expense and trouble incurred in conducting them, have discontinued them. The paper fears that in due course this hard Act will have the effect of crushing out of existence all journalism in India.

SWARAJ.

46. In course of a leading article under the heading Swaraj, the Sadhvi, of the 25th July, dwelling on the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan among the Muhammadans, proceeds to observe:--Although the wealth, education and foresight of His Highness the Aga Khan make him preminently fitted to guide the progress of his community yet the Muhammadans themselves have no great confidence in his ability just as the Hindus fail to appreciate the merits of their own leaders. His Highness has very ably pointed out the shortcomings of the Muhammadan rule in Persia and Turkey. It is probably his ambition to secure the benefits of self-government for his co-religionists in India. But it will take a hundred years or more for the Muhammadans to qualify themselves for these privileges. Japan took nearly fifty years to rise to her present eminence, and their religion has been no other than patriotism. The progress they effected in those fifty years is more than what may be expected from any other nation in five thousand years. Japan has set such a noble example to the

rest of the world. But it would be extremely difficult for the Muhammadans to act up to this ideal; yet it must be admitted that the spirit of co-operation is more largely discernible among them than among the Hindus; and it is just possible that they will realise the ambition of their leader in the course of about a hundred years. Although in India they wield no great influence, yet in other parts of the continent of Asia and in Africa they form a fairly powerful community, and a steady attempt at progress is not unlikely to help them to reach their goal. But the Hindus can never lay claim to the privileges of self-government. They are divided into hundreds of castes and creeds which are seething with envy and hatred against one another. Their desire for progress too is not very keen. Although a few among them have, it is true, risen to positions of rank and influence, yet nearly 95 per cent, of the Hindus are in a deplorably backward condition. They are growing more and more effiminate and indolent. A large section of them eke out their livelihood either by medicancy or by taking to some detestable pursuits. But it is all very different with the Muhammadans. Their line of action gives rise to hopes of steady advancement. We should most heartily rejoice at their good fortune. It behoves the leaders of the Hindus who have any spirit of patriotism in them to think out some means of salvation for their brethren. We are not yet fit for self-government. Yet it is not improbable that some hundred years of British rule at least will

lead us to cultivate those qualities which are necessary for attaining Swaraj. Every student should work with this motto always in mind, namely, "Your aim should always be the zenith of progress--whether spiritual or material--and in the attempt you should ever be ready to sacrifice your very life". And with the help of Providence and the training under the British our country may hope to see better days.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 9TH AUGUST 1913.

No. 32 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(k) General.

10. The Andhra, for the week ending 1st August, has the following:--"The reply of Mr. Montagu, the Under Secretary of State for India, to a question of Mr. O'Grady in the House of Commons about the imprisonment of Mr. B.G. Tilak, is disappointing............... Whatever may be the political opinions of Mr. Tilak, it is admitted on all hands that he is a highly religious man, who has sacrificed his interests in the cause of his country. His example was inspiring to his countrymen; and his personality touched the imagination of the whole of Maharashtra, such as no individual in modern India has done, The Mahratta country went into mourning over his incarceration".

The imprisonment of Mr. Tilak.

VI. Miscellaneous

18. The West Coast Spectator, of the 2nd August, writes:- In spite of solemn promises given and assurances made to the Imperial Government, the South African Government have just passed a Bill which is

Lord Crewe and the South African Immigration Bill.

calculated to place the Indians in the same position they were before the promises were made.................. The Bill creates racial inequality in the eyes of the law, and this is enough to put any self-respecting Indian on his mettle.............Lord Crewe, the Radical statesman, gave a reply which we are constrained to characterise as halting and evasive. He admitted the grievances of the Indians and said that if it was found that any ~~per-~~ provision of the Bill operated hardly on the Indian community in any particular district, attention could be drawn to this provision with a view to its being relaxed. We all know in what manner previous legislations have been relaxed. He is not for compelling the Union Government to withdraw the objectionable provisions, for, he 'doubted if it was ever wise to force upon a community like the white voters of South Africa a policy regarding another race which they hated' A very good argument this! But what about the three hundred millions of Indian people whose feelings are wounded by the unsympathetic acts of the Union Government towards their countrymen in South Africa? Is it because they have no votes that they are treated like helots? We have repeatedly been urging the Government of India to take in hand legislation that will give the Africans coming to or residing in India the same treatment as they mete out to the Indians?".

19. The West Coast Spectator, of the 2nd August, writes:-

The proposed changes in the India Office.

"The India Council, according to the Times, is at last to be reorganized............The feeling in this country against the India Council is one of

disappointment to say the least of it. In fact there is a large body of public opinion in favour of its annihilation. The National Congress is opposed to its continuance and has passed resolutions on several occasions demanding its abolition...............The members who constitute the India Council were once called, by Mr. Eardley Norton, in his Congress days, 'old women in breeches', whose notions about India and her people are antiquated and deeply saturated with Anglo-Indian prejudices. India is not standing still, a new life, new aspirations and a new spirit are dominating her and the majority of the Councillors we make bold to say have lost touch with India and are not aware of the changes.............. We do not want a Council now. It is an unnecessary and useless charge on the revenues of India. The Government of India have had a representative element grafted on it, and are bound to be dominated by the expanded Councils whose members have a right to speak with authority on behalf of their countrymen. Whatever advice the Secretary of State wants he can get from India, and that being the case and for the reasons stated, the Council can very conveniently be abolished. If it is not to be abolished there must be a radical change. There is no use of appointing to it men of the type of Mr. Norton's 'old women in breeches,' old and infirm men ~~of the type of Mr. Norton's 'old~~ dominated by old world ideas of Indian Government. The Council must be given a good deal of elasticity and retired fossils must not find places on it."

Writing on this subject the West Coast Reformer, of the 3rd August, says:--"The constitution of the India Office never satisfied the progressive elements in either British or Indian public life. The question of re-organising the Council of the Secretary of State for India was mooted on several occasions by eminent politicians in England, but there has not yet been any change. It has been time and again pointed out that the Council should not be a body of advisers recruited from the retired Anglo-Indian administrators. The apologists of the present constitution would attach great value to a practical experience of Indian administration. The advocates of progressive methods would suggest that Anglo-Indian officials brought into the Council all the prejudicial knowledge and narrow views obtained during a long and wearisome sojourn in India."

The Muhammadans.

84. The Sasilekha, of the 5th August, in its leader on "the Muhammadans", says:--The illiteracy of the Muhammadans is a source of great evil to the country. For the last twenty-five years they have been impeding the progress of this country, by standing aloof from the Indian National Congress and incessantly hating the movement. They are also a source of great trouble to the Government. Recently the Government ordered the demolition of a mosque in Cawnpore for some public purposes, as they have been from time to time ordering that of some Hindu temples. It is surprising, however, to note that the Muhammadans, not only of Cawnpore but also of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, should have been thereby led into many open acts of violence and breach of public peace. This clearly shows their blind fanaticism

and recklessness, which have ever been retarding the progress of the country. The Government should, therefore, take steps to provide the Muhammadans, above all other classes, with compulsory free elementary education, which will have at least the effect of broadening their outlook and toning them down into peaceful subjects.

(k) General.

37. Adverting to the Darbar recently held at Dacca by Lord Carmichael, in which he appealed to the people to co-operate with the Government in finding out those who were responsible for the numerous dacoities in Bengal, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st August, observes:--It is the duty of the people and their leaders to help the Government in rooting out the wicked in the community, as their presence is as dangerous to the people as to the Government. Therefore the people are doubtless as anxious to suppress wicked acts as the Government. But the Government always omits to do a certain thing. If the Government treats the popular leaders with respect, the people will attach some value to their words, when they exercise their influence in the community, to which they belong, on behalf of the Government. But it cannot be said that the Government always treats them in this way. The action of the Government regarding the nomination of certain lecturers by the Calcutta University is an illustration of this. The very nomination of Mr. Rasul and others shows that they are men held in esteem by the people. When such men are treated with scant respect by the Government, what effect can their words have upon the community?

The Government and the popular leaders.

38. The Swadesamitran, of the 4th August, comments as follows upon the statement recently made by Lord Crewe in the House of Lords regarding the proposed reform of the India Office in London:--As all the expenses incurred for this office are met from the Indian exchequer, it is necessary that our people should know something about it. The annual expenditure in connection with this office comes to nearly 25 lakhs of rupees. It has been the opinion of the Indian leaders for a long time that this enormous expenditure should be curtailed in some way or other. In the very first session of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay in 1885, a resolution was passed, suggesting the entire abolition of the India Council. Such a resolution was again passed in the Congress held in Madras in 1894. There is no doubt that the abolition of the India Council is only a question of time. Then the Secretary of State for India will be paid his salary from the British exchequer, like the Colonial and Foreign Secretaries, and his administration of India will become the subject of criticism by members of Parliament at the time of their passing the budget for each year. This will naturally lead to this officer devoting closer attention to his duties than is the case now. It was only with this idea that the Indian leaders have been suggesting the abolition of the India Council.

The proposed reform of the India Office.

One of the important reforms now proposed to be introduced by Lord Crewe is to select members of this Council from among those who are in service, instead of from retired officials. This will no doubt introduce

into the Council young officials, who are up to date in their experience of India, and this will, in its turn, enable the Council to work more actively and independently than it does now. Lord Crewe next proposes to put a stop to the present practice of deciding even trifling matters by means of committees and allow the member in charge of each department to have the final say regarding such matters. This will of course save much time and avoid unnecessary delay. There will be one or two Indian members in the Council. Though Lord Crewe says that this may not always be possible, if it is introduced as a system, at least two experienced Indians will always be members of this Council.

Anyhow, the Indians will not be satisfied unless this Council is abolished altogether. As a preliminary step towards this end, the Government in India is already being strengthened. After the reform of the Legislative Councils in India, the Government finds it no longer possible to ignore Indian opinion, and this opinion is also gaining in strength. The number of Indian members in Legislative Councils will gradually increase and they will also enjoy greater privileges and powers. Then the Government of India will be conducted according to the views of Indians. When this happens, where will there be a necessity for the India Council?

The Ecclesiastical department.

39. In a short article on this subject the Andhra-prakasika, of the 2nd August, writes:-

It comes to our knowledge that the salary of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta together with the charges of His Lordship's establishment comes to about Rs.70,000 annually. Calculating at this rate for the whole of India, the money spent on this department must be enormous. Is it just that so much of Indian money should be spent on this account? Have the Indians to pay taxes for the propagation of Christian faith among them? Is it not proper that a paper should ask "Why should India be burdened with this department?"

VI. Miscellaneous.

45. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st August, writes:-

Conditions of Indians in South Africa.

Lord Ampthill recently started a discussion in the House of Lords regarding the effect of the South African Immigration Act upon the condition of the Indians in South Africa. He requested the British Minister to ask the Union Government to suspend the operation of this Act, until it was amended so as to be more satisfactory to the Indians and less injurious to British prestige in India. He urged the Government to telegraph to South Africa frankly, firmly and freely, as the matter was of Imperial importance. There is no doubt that, by doing this, the British Minister will be acquiring the gratitude and confidence of the Indian people. One would have expected the Colonial Secretary to have replied to this speech. But we do not find the mention of his name at all throughout the debate. It is the Secretary of State for India who replied to the remarks of Lord Ampthill and others. We are not at all

satisfied with this reply. Lord Crewe observed that Messrs. Botha, Smuts, and Fischer keenly desired to meet Indians as far as public opinion in South Africa would allow them. This is a meaningless statement. The Whites in South Africa are so jealous of the Indians there that they would like to root them out of the country. So, if the treatment of the Indians depends upon the opinion of the Whites, it will surely make the position of the former most unbearable. If the Indians are to have justice Mr. Botha and others should be prepared to act against the opinion of the Whites in South Africa, on acdount of the pressure of the British Ministers. Lord Crewe admitted that the Indians had legitimate grievances and that the new law did not redress these grievances in to. But what is the remedy suggested by him? He said that, if it was found that any provision of this law operated hardly on the Indian community in any particular district, attention could be drawn to this provision with a view to its being relaxed. This may not always be possible. It may be difficult for the British Minister to find out which protion of the law is pressing hard upon the Indians. Besides this, any portion of this law cannot be modified, unless the Union Parliament meets again for the purpose, and even if it does meet, it will go on postponing such modifications. Our sincere belief is that Mr. Botha and others do not, at heart, wish to treat the Indians fairly. Lord Ampthill was afraid--and we think he was right here--that the maltreatment of the Indians in South Africa would have a disparaging effect upon the prestige of the British Government in India. If the British Ministers, who condudt the British Empire from the mother country and who are responsible for the

unity and the contentment of the various parts of this Empire, are not able to insist upon the Indians being treated in such a way as appears to them to be reasonable, what impression will this create in the minds of the Indian people? Lord Crewe thought that it was not fair to compel the Colonials to ~~South~~ adopt a certain course. But why should he presume that on account of South Africa being a self-governing Colony, the Whites alone should exercise all the privileges and powers? The British Empire reaps all the advantages accruing from the Indians. But, if any inconvenience is caused by them, it is stated that the Whites cannot put up with it. If the Government of India and the Secretary of State have any regard for the Indians and attach any importance to their being held in esteem by them, they will not thus trample the feelings of the Indians under their feet.

In commenting upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran of the 2nd August, says:--We are glad to note even the London Times expressing its sympathy with the Indians in their present plight. It condedes that the Indians are justified in taking exception to certain portions of the new Act and takes to task the British High Commissioner in South Africa for not having drawn the attention of the British Ministers to these portions. It concludes by saying that even now the Indians can be prevailed upon to obey this law for the present, if the Union Government assures them that the aforesaid objection-able portions of the law will be modified at the next

session of the Union Parliament. This is, of course, a better suggestion than that made by Lord Crewe. But the Union Government has made promises like this several times and failed to fulfil them. Still, we can give another opportunity to it on this occasion. If they fail even this time, there is the method of passive resistance ready at hand.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 16TH AUGUST 1913.

No. 33 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The Cawnpore Machhli Bazaar mosque riot.

6. The Muhammadan, of the 11th August, writes:--"The news of the Canpore Machhli Bazaar mosque riot and its sequel--the loss of life and the shedding of blood--has created profound consternation in Muslim India. What oould apparently have been avoided altogether has been turned into such agitation and indignation by the bungling of the local authorities at Cawnpore. The local officials not only failed to grasp the depth of Muhammadan feeling on the subject but have also persisted in maintaining an attitude of perfect indifference to Moslem religious feeling and their notion of infallibility, by attributing the expression of religious feeling in the matter to influences from outside, and as being purely artificial. ....Having whipped the Cawnpore Muhammadans into fury by insults, insinuations and taunts, the local authorities awaited the sequel and suppressed it with gun and bullet. Apparently, to justify their attitude of stubborn obstinacy, they interfered and annoyed the

the crowd that had come to rebuild the demolished portion and finally, when under provocation they threw bricks, the Police, under orders of Mr. Tyler, replied with bullets and avenged by life...............Mr. Tyler, if he were really anxious to secure peace, for which end he carried fire into the crowd, ought to have been the one person who should have saved the situation by his absence. The presence of Mr. Tyler, after his having lately identified himself so prominently in the fiasco, would, if anything were wanting, have been the one cause of annoying and provoking the crowd which went, in mourning, to the mosque. His presence has presumably added fuel to the fire".

Government and Christian places of worship.

7. The following appears in the Madras Standard of the 12th August:-"From the report of the questions asked by Mr. King in the House of Commons on the aid which the Government of India is giving for the erection or the maintenance of Christian places of worship in India, it is evident that the question is now under the consideration of the authorities.................Mr. Montagu admitted that Indian revenues were being spent for the maintenance of Christian places of worship, and that this help was extended not only to the Protestant Church, but also to all others that followed the teachings of Christ. The questions asked by Mr. King were very suggestive of the injustice that is being done in this respect to the people of this country ....Mr. Montagu stated that the Christian officers of the Government often found no places of worship in some stations to which they were posted for

administrative convenience and in such cases, it was the duty of the Government to provide facilities for religious worship. Such a proposition is, however, absurd on its very face...............There is no knowing to which sect the officer in question might belong. To-day he might be a Protestant and the Government may order a church to be built for him. His successor might be a Roman Catholic and his religious scruples would not permit him to enter a Protestant Church. The third incumbent to that office might possibly be a Methodist and the Government would then have to provide a third church. That such a lame justification should have been advanced seems ridiculous, but a close examination of the aid that is extended by the Government to all Christian places of worship will at once reveal similar instances.

"Secondly, the Government, in accordance with its policy, of religious neutrality, cannot overlook the needs of Indian officers or religions Supposing a Vaishnavite is posted to a place containing no temple which his caste people choose to worship; can the Government, with any sense of fairness, refuse to provide him with a place of worship?................In these circumstances if the Liberals were convinced of the impropriety of compelling Wales and Ireland to maintain churches, which were not required by the majority of the people, we do not see how they can pass over the same injustice being done to the people of this country. Lastly, the present policy of the Government is, in a way, a direct violation of the principle of religious neutrality which they so often

hold out to us, whenever a request is made to put down any of our semi-religious evils. So long as the followers of Christ can depend on the Government to bear a certain portion of, if not the whole, cost of their places of worship while no such assistance is extended to the two great religions of this country, it is plain to any one that the Government is partial to the Christian religion. That such an impression prevails among the people and also that enthusiastic Missionaries make much capital out of it, cannot be denied by any one acquainted with life in the mofussil. The educated people too fail to view the question in any other light. When private Christian places of worship are so numerous all over the country, it is difficult to find any valid justification for the vast expenditure which the general tax-payer has to bear on this account. It is true that constant reference is not made to this question in the press or on the platform; but that is not certainly due to the lack of any sense of injustice in the popular mind. The reason is rather to be found in the multiplicity of a large number of equally, and perhaps more, important questions which do not allow any postponement."

VI. Miscellaneous.

13. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 6th August, writes:--

Lord Crewe and the South African Immigration Bill.

"Lord Crewe has practically given away the cause of the British Indians in the South Africa by his attempted defence of the

Immigration Bill which became law on the 1st August ....Lord Crewe doubted if it was ever wise to force upon a community like the white voters of South Africa, a police regarding another race which they hated. We, for our part, beg leave to doubt if it is courage or statesmanship to let one class of His Majesty's subjects deny another their just rights, though they live under the same flag, and place the Imperial imprimatur on race hatred. It is a painful surprise to us that a responsible Minister of the Crown should think it fit to defend, from his place in Parliament, the hatred of one race by another."

14. In a leader on this subject, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 6th August, writes:-

The proposed changes in the India Office.

"Though the reform of the India Office has long been a subject of public discussion, and the Indian National Congress has for many years been agitating for its practical abolition, the question has not hitherto been taken up by the authorities concerned, as demanding their serious attention. But the recent criticisms against certain financial transactions of the India Office brought the matter to a head, and Lord Crewe has promised legislation in respect of the constitution and working of the India Office at the next session of Parliament................The most satisfactory change would be the giving up of the present system of appointing superannuated civilians to the India Council. A civilian, who is voted unfit for further service in India and pensioned off accordingly, is expected to be able to actively assist the Secretary of State in administering India, an anomaly which has been suffered to exist too long

already. As somebody remarked when Robert Lowe was raised to the Peerage as Lord Sherbroke that he was kicked up to the Upper House as he was found unfit to be in the Lower, so, too, civilians declared to be unfit for active service in India are drafted on to the India Office to advise and assist the Secretary of State."

15. The Andhra, fot the week ending 8th August, remarks:-

The South African Immigration Bill.

"The passing of the South African Immigration Bill occasions a grave crisis in the situation. Once more the South African Indians headed by their leader Mr. Gandhi will have, of necessity, recourse to passive resistance and this time the struggle will be one of life or death. The major portion of Indians are poor labourers and the fight with the Colonial Government is a hopeless task, which would in the end overpower the resisters. But for the spiritual faith in the justness of their cause, they would have already succumbed in the face of tremendous odds ....All hopes have gone from the minds of Indians and the future struggle will be a critical one. The ultimate victory of the South African whites is sure and certain, but the moral victory ~~of the South African whites is sure and certain, but the moral victory~~ will surely rest with Indian passive resisters. In this final attempt, the Indian community is likely to be effaced. Their moral glory only will be left as a precious heritage to their brethren in India. It is the bounden duty of Indians at home to help their fellow countrymen in the fierce struggle

which they have undertaken for the fair name and honour of their mother-country India. They do not want any longer our moral support, for they have already shown a courage, which is unsurpassable. They want our pecuniary support, which every man and woman in India must render to their brothers and sisters suffering in a far off land amidst relentless persecutors. Money flowed to Turkey from India to relieve the sufferers in the Balkan War merely on the sentiment of a common religion. Will India keep quiet when their own kith and kin are involved in a struggle of far-reaching consequences? We hope not."

18. The following appears in the Madras Standard of the 14th August:--

The co-operation of Hindus and Moslems.

"The verbal solicitude which the rulers of this Country have been manifesting for the growth of more cordial feelings between the two great communities of India and the actual policy which they consistently pursue give ample room for the cynical saying that advice is meant for others. No opportunity is lost by the Government of India or any other responsible officials to din into our ears that the future of this country depends greatly upon the co-operation of Hindus and Moslems, but yet the policy that has been responsible for the estrangement is still adhered to......................Our Moslem countrymen, while full of the separatist ideas preached by persons of the stamp of Mr. Ameer Ali, were given ample room by the Government to feel that in pursuing such a course they could depend upon the good will of the rulers. The granting of separate representation

confirmed in them the idea that their interests were not identical with those of the other people of this country, and whatever might have been the intentions of the Government, there can be no doubt that such has been the impression created in the minds of our Moslem countrymen. Such a feeling was easily availed of by many interested people and the division in the country soon became evident."

19. In its leader under the heading the "Indians in South Africa," the Ravi, of the 7th August,

The Indians in South Africa.

says:--It is true that the policy of the Home Government has always been not to interfere in the internal affairs of the self-governing Colonies. But the present subject is not connected in any way with the internal administration of South Africa. It affects the whole social fabric of the Indian Nation. Since the Indians are British subjects, Great Britain has a right to interfere, for the protection of its own subjects, in the affairs of South African Government. should have no cause for complaint for any such interference on the part of the Home Government. Hence we believe that it would have been a good thing if the Home Government had, acting up to the advice of Lord Ampthill, cabled boldly and without any reserve to the South African Government regarding this matter. We however wish that the Government will see their way to redress the grievances of the Indians in South Africa.

(k) General.

28. The Swadesamitran, of the 5th August, writes:--

The Mussalman riot at Cawnpore.

We are shocked to hear of a serious riot of the Muhammadans at Cawnpore, resulting even in loss of lives. The cause of this riot appears to be the demolition by the Government of a portion of a mosque in the place. When Sir James Meston took charge of the ~~Lietu~~ Lieutenant-Governorship of the United Provinces, it was stated that, unlike his predecessor, Sir John Hewett, he would work for the welfare of the people and that he would sympathise with their aspirations. This was in a way belied by the evidence he gave before the Public Service Commission. He has now unnecessarily incurred the displeasure of the Muhammadan community. Before deciding to demolish a portion of the mosque at Cawnpore, either Sir James Meston or the District Collector should have sent for the Mohammadan leaders and consulted them. Instead of doing so, a notice that a portion of the mosque would be demolished was put up in the Collector's office. But the people did not know anything of this. So, the Muhammadans were enraged when a portion of the mosque was actually demolished. Meetings were held in different places and the action of the Government condemned. Ultimately a number of irresponsible Muhammadans in Cawnpore assembled before the mosque and committed a riot. The Muhammadans are as keen about their religion as the Hindus and they will not tolerate the intervention of Government in a religious matter, however trifling it may be. It does not matter that the

demolished portion of the mosque was not an important part of it or was not used for purposes of devotion. It is enough that it formed part of a structure, which was deemed to be a temple by the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans are not all of them educated and so they cannot be expected to judge the action of the Government wisely from the standpoint of public convenience. Moreover, the Muhammadans are just now smarting under a feeling of discontent with the British Government and we believe this feeling was one of the causes that led to the riot at Cawnpore. We do not know what the Government intends doing now. It may be thought that it is derogatory to the prestige of the Government to have the demolished portion of the mosque rebuilt. But if the Government does not have it to rebuilt and sticks to its original decision, it will be wounding the feelings of the Muhammadans permanently and thereby affect the loyalty of this community to the British Raj.

We wish to lay stress upon another point at this juncture. The Muhammadans are not always treated in the same way by the British Government. They are at times patted by the Government and are given special privileges not available to the Hindus. This leads to their having an exaggerated idea of their influence and importance and they have begun to think that they are entitled to a preferential treatment as compared with other communities in India. It is Lord Morley and Lord Minto who gave room for the creation of such an impression in the minds of the Muhammadans. Now several causes have led to

the British Government and the Government of India acting against the interests of the Muhammadans in certain respects and the Muhammadans are provoked by this. The Muhammadans are not as cultured as the Hindus and the masses among them are very easily provoked on account of their ignorance and blind faith in their religion. The Government and the officials, who are responsible for preserving public peace, are bound to bear this in mind.

Continuing its comments upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 8th August, observes:--One point we have to consider in connection with this riot is whether it could not have been quelled without so much loss of life as is reported in this case. It appears the number of those killed is 18, and the number of those wounded is nearly 50. The usual method adopted in quelling such riots is for the Police to fire blank cartridges in the beginning. We understand that this was not done in the Cawnpore riot and ball cartridges were used at the very outset. If this is true, it must be said that Mr. Tyler did not exercise due caution in dealing with this riot and that he was unnecessarily hasty in giving the order to fire. There is no doubt that Mr. Tyler and other officials exhibited a rare courage in the matter of quelling this riot. But it is the duty of a Magistrare always to avoid, as much as possible, firing upon the crowds on occasions like this. Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, showed encomiums on the officials at Cawnpore for the promptitude and earnestness with

which they attended to the wounded persons, after the riot was quelled. We do not see how they deserve so much praise. If the wounded are not attended to by the officials, who will do it?

The Mussalman riot at Cawnpore.

The Swadesamitran, of the 12th August, refers to this subject again and says:--The mistakes committed by the officials in connection with the Cawnpore riot are coming out one after another. It appears the Municipal Commissioners of Cawnpore were against the demolition of the mosque. But their opinion was not cared for. It seems Mr. Sim, the President of that Municipality, wrote to Government saying that no weight need be attached to the opinion of the Commissioners. He seems to have begun to demolish the mosque, even before the final decision of the Government was known. It is argued on the side of the officials that the portion demolished was not a sacred place, on the ground that none objected to Mr. Sim and Mr. Tyler, the District Magistrate, entering the place with their boots on. We cannot understand the meaning of this argument. Is it because these officials were not forcibly prevented from entering the place that it is argued that no objection was taken to their going in? In this country, the people are not used to complain of the conduct of big officials in their very face, even if its happens to be unjust. The sanctity or otherwise of this place can be decided only after consultation with Muhammadans leaders. It has become the usual practice in this country for the officials to act on their own initiative,

on occasions like this, without consulting popular opinion and attaching any weight to it. We venture to assert that if, on this occasion, the local officials had been Indians or if there were a committee of Indians at the place to advise the local officials, this riot would not have occurred. If there had been an Indian Member in the Government of the United Provinces, as is the case in other important Presidencies, he would have warned the Government, in time of the feelings of Muhammadans and prevented a riot.

30. Referring to the budget speech of Mr. Montagu the Swadesamitran, of the 11th August, observes:-

The budget speech of Mr. Montagu.

"This speech can be divided into two parts, the first dealing with the proposed administrative reforms in the Government of India and the second laying down the lines on which this Government should be conducted. An important point referred to by him in the first part is the reform of the India Office. But this reform is only superficial and will not result either in reducing the expenditure incurred for this office or in conferring any benefit on the administration of the country. Mr. Montagu stated that, during his recent visit to India, he had consulted both Europeans and Indians and that he was now trying to introduce only the several reforms proposed by them. We do not know whom he consulted among the Indians. If he had consulted the true leaders among them, they would have suggested only the entire abolition of the India Council.

It was stated by him that one unalterable fact in the constitution of this Council was the presence of two Indian members in it. But how is this important? What can two among ten members do? At present, till the Legislative Councils in India become stronger, some of the Members of the House of Commons should be formed into a committee and made to advise the Secretaty of State, from time to time, on matters concerhing India. This is the opinion which has been voiced forth by the Congress from the time it was established. Instead of introducing such useful reforms, Lord Crewe is trying to set right the superficial bends on the India Council. This only shows that he is playing into the hands of the bureaucracy.

Mr. Montagu next referred to the Military expenditure. It is now clear that the appointment of a committee under the presidency of Sir Frederick Nicholson to consider about this subject has not proved beneficial in any way. The members of this committee were all officials and the witnesses examined by them were also officials. Moreover the report of this committee is treated as confidential and has not been published. In whatever way the European amd the Indian Armies in India may be changed as a result of the recommendations of this committee, the Indian people will lose all interest in it. As the army in India is utilised not merely for the defence of this country, but also in other military operations undertaken by England, it is but fair that England should bear a portion of the expenditure incurred for it.

Continuing its comments upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 12th August, writes:--In the course of his speech, Mr. Montagu observed that the policy of the British Government in India should be based upon certain desirable principles and enumerated them one after another. Though there is no doubt that these are very sound ones, the important question is according to what principles the Government of India is being actually conducted. Mr. Montagu said that the Government desired harmony between the Hindus and the Muhammadans and that the principle of "divide and rule" had no place whatever in the text-book of British statesmanship. It may be this doctrine is in the mind of Mr. Mantagu and the Members of Parliament. But how does it avail the Indians? These are concerned only with how the authorities in India treat the Hindus and the Muhammadans. One important feature of the regime of Lord Curzon was the creation of discord between these two communities. Then it struck the Government that the Hindus were disloyal and Lords Morley and Minto came to the conclusion that it was necessary to favour the Muhammadans. From this time the Government of India has been steadfastly following the policy of conferring special benefits on the Muhammadans community. Now that the feelings of the Muhammadans have been wounded a little in connection with the Turko-Balkan war, the Government is trying to appease them. It is ~~on account of this that the Government is trying to~~ has decided to grant them special rights of representation and secure for the Muhammadan youths a substantial share of the Government offices and special facilities for

education. He added that the Government had committed itself to the principle of special representation for the Muhammadans and that if the latter acceded to the request of the Hindus also for special representation, the Government was prepared to grant it. Why should the Muhammadans be asked about granting rights of special representation to the Hindus? Were the latter consulted when similar rights were conferred upon the former? Nevertheless the Hindus realise that the Muhammadans are after all their own brethren and are prepared to receive well any special benefits which may be conferred upon them. When conferring these benefits, the Government should take care that they do not entail any loss or disrespect to the Hindus. The Government should bear in mind the position of the Hindus in the ancient and modern history of this country and treat them in such a way as will not be derogatory to their intelligence, wealth, etc.

Mr. Montagu stated that the educated Indians should not be ignored, that, even if they had faults, it should not be forgotten that these were the outcome of the education given them by the British and that they should be made to co-operate with the Government in the administration of the country. We believe a way may be found, for the realisation of this end, by the deliberations of the Public Service Commission. Still, judging from the writings of some Anglo-Indian and English journals, we fear that the enquiry of this Commission will result only in raising the salaries and status of English officials and that nothing good to the Indians will come out of it. If it really happens like this, it is the most dangerous event that can happen, as far as India is concerned.
Mr. Montagu pleaded for the strengthening of the local

institutions and suggested that non-official gentlemen should be allowed to share the responsibility of administration. This will be made possible, not by increasing the powers of the local authorities, but by reducing them and allowing the people to do a portion of the work of these officials honorarily. But the Government in India does not seem inclined to do this. Though several years have passed since the Hobhouse Commission sent in its recommendations, nothing has yet been done by the Government to give effect to them. The tendency is only to strengthen the hands of the district officials and not to confer any rights on the people in conducting public affairs. Mr. Montagu observed: "The problem in India is not a problem of material advancement, of increasing prosperity or of new public buildings. It is not even a problem of efficiency. It is a problem of giving the Indian an increasing opportunity in his own country and increasing assistance in the development of his capacity for local government and administration." Though the officials in India are not entirely actuated with this spirit now, we hope that the spread of education among the Indians and their increasing influence will in course of time, make it possible for the Government to confer larger rights and privileges upon them and make them share the major portion of the responsibility of Government.

33. The Shams-ul-Akhbar, of the 11th August, under the heading "The demolition of the four mosques,"

The Cawnpore sacrilege.

appeals through His Excellency the Viceroy to the justice of Great Britain and prays that the Government of India may kindly free their subjects from the clutches of such officers as neither respect the orders of their esteemed rulers nor pay any heed to the natural feelings and emotions of the British subjects. It prays that the demolished mosques may be re-erected and that permission may be granted to prosecute such officers in the High Court of Judicature as do continually perpetrate such heart-rending deeds. The paper says that the recent occurrences and subsequent conduct of these officers have considerably grieved the Muslim hearts. The fact is that the same man who, in violation of all laws of nature and State, demolished mosques has again not only interfered in the performance of an Islamic ceremony but has, with a view to feast his eyes on the "Muslim blood," hailed shot and shell on them. If the Muhammadans piled up the broken and scattered bricks of their mosque, they had done no harm either to Mr. Tyler or his Police force The paper suggests that the Muhammadan public of Madras should, by wire, approach the Government of India, with request to at once institute inquiries into the matter, so that the murder of so many poor Muhammadans may be revenged. If the matter is delayed, the paper apprehends that Mr. Tyler and his assistants ~~and~~ are certain, on the slightest provocation, to again fall upon the Muhammadans, and shed their blood in order to suppress their excitement.

The Mukhbir-i-Deccan, of the 13th August, comments on the Cawnpore affair and hopes that the Government will not wound the religious feelings of the Muhammadans. It adds that firing is the extreme penalty of the law. It was not good policy to have used it against the Muhammadans for an attempt to re-erect the demolished portion of the mosque.

The paper, with reference to the Karachi affair, notes with satisfaction the action taken by Mr. W.Hudson, stating that had there been an officer of Mr. Hudson's stamp at Cawnpore no lives would have been lost. Mr. Hudson of course must have been aware of the section of the Indian Penal Code under which firing is allowed. The paper thanks Mr. Hudson on behalf of the Muhammadans in general for his foresight and justice.

VI--Miscellaneous.

38. The Swadesamitran, of the 6th August, writes:-

Indian students in England.

In delivering the inaugural address at the Indian Association in London, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is reported to have stated that the position of Indian students in England was steadily becoming more and more irksome and that the main causes which contributed to this were the new school of Imperialism of the Englishmen, the greater share which the self-governing Colonies were acquiring in shaping the Imperial policy and the influence of retired officials. The new school of Imperialism is nothing but the arrogant feeling of the Englishmen that theirs is the largest

Empire in the world, that none are equal to them and that the Indians are a low set of people who need not be cared for. The cultured among the Englishmen do not hold this view. It is the ordinary people, the artisans and the labourers, who arrogantly hold this view and insult the Indians. Besides this, the whites in the Colonies have no regard at all for the Indians. They are not acquainted with the ancient civilisation and the present condition of the Indians. As the aboriginal tribes in their own country are only wandering savages, they think that all coloured races can only be like them. There is no doubt that the association of these Colonials has now begun to have an effect upon the opinion of the Englishmen. The third cause mentioned by Mr. Gokhale is also worthy of notice. The high officials who retire from service in India vaunt that they have always a solicitude for the Indians. But this solicitude is akin only to our affection for the lower animals. Generally, the Englishmen do not at all wish that the Indians should improve in wealth and strength and live like other people in the world, enjoying all political privileges. There may be one in a thousand like Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. As observed by Mr. Gokhale, the number of Indians going to England, for purposes of education, had enormously increased, in spite of the fact that their position there was getting irksome. The remedy suggested by him was that every facility should be provided in India alone for Indians to have ordinary education, so that they would have to go to England only for having education of a special and superior kind. When India

is an extensive country, with people, who took a zealous interest in education and a Government which had a large amount of revenue, why should it not have every facility for education like Japan? There is no money now for improving the education of the people, because the revenue of the country is being overspent in several ways. The fact that, though the British have been ruling over India for the last 150 years, there is not one school yet for industrial and scientific education in the whole of India, clearly illustrates the want of interest on the part of the Government in the improvement of the education of Indians. It may be stated that it is the duty of the rich among the people to provide for such facilities; but we would say that it is as much the duty of the Government.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 23RD AUGUST 1913.

No. 34 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

I. Foreign Politics.

Persia and Indian Revenue.

1. The following appears in the Madras Standard of the 18th August:--"The debate which Lord Curzon raised in the House of Lords in regard to the situation in two of our frontier countries, Persia and Tibet, elicited much useful information on topics of great importance to this country. On the pretext of regulating our frontiers not a little of our money has been wasted on purely imperial questions. The 'Young-husband' mission to Tibet cost us a million sterling, and not even its most ardent advocates can justify this waste of Indian revenues. Then again, a vast amount of Indian money has been spent on Persia. Not to speak of the cost of maintaining a body of troops in that country, the Government of India had now and then been asked to advance notable sums of money to the Persian Government. Recently £200,000 were doled out to Persia to be spent on general administration. We do not know how this diversion of Indian money can be defended on equitable grounds. It is difficult to conceive how the strengthening of Persia--if that were to be the eventual result--will be more beneficial to this country than to England or any other nation. Trade will revive in the wake of peace and order and

considering the low state of our industries, this revival will not in any way compensate us for our heavy expenditure. The English traders, on the other hand, will be materially benefited by an improvement of the condition. After England, many of the European nations will derive great benefit. Persia follows an open-door policy and so the countries that are industrially more advanced will be correspondingly better benefited. It may be argued that the Moslem inhabitants of this country are for the policy of doling out Indian money..............Our Moslem countrymen cannot but realise the injustice of depriving the tax-payer of this country of the benefits of his money. If Persia needs money and if her present condition does not enable her to borrow from any Power other than England and Russia, let those two Powers lend the amount, for, only they are mainly responsible for her present unfortunate condition and will benefit by the change in the situation..................
We can only hope that our rulers will be more watchful of our interests and not divert our money to objects which are of no great consequence to this country."

5. The Madras Standard, of the 19th August, writes:-

The Kovur riots case.

"We published yesterday extracts from the judgment delivered by the Sessions Judge of Nellore in the Kovur riots case. It will be remembered that the District Magistrate, in his report to the Government of Madras blamed both the parties equally for the sad occurrence. The initial mistake, he pointed out, lay with the Muhammadans, but the Hindus, too, acted criminally, after provocation. The Sessions Judge, however, has

chosen to take a different view of their responsibilities. He thinks that the Hindus were blameless on all charges except refusing to disperse when ordered by the Tahsildar and the lenient punishment of two months which he has been pleased to pass on them shows that he is convinced of their innocence in regard to all the other charges put in against them.................. In the present unhappy case, there is no doubt, that but for the construction of the mosque at a place frequently used by Hindu religious processions, there would not have been any breach of the peace. We feel that an initial mistake was committed in not prohibiting its construction when the Hindus brought the after-effects of such a step to the notice of the authorities. ....Although the attitude of the district authorities on the eve of the riots seems to be above blame, we must confess that with only a little more of tact, the riots could have been averted. That the authorities foresaw a breach of the peace is plain from the facts of the case..............The District Magistrate could very well have convened a conference of the leaders of both the parties and settled amicably the matters in dispute. Even the Tahsildar could have perhaps undertaken that work. Many instances can be given where disputes, like that in Kovur, have been settled without recourse being had to the firing of carbines. A District Magistrate has an enormous influence in his sphere of authority and he can always use it with greater effect when he tries to enforce it by persuasion rather than with the use of the police....................The failure to discharge their legitimate duty was perhaps greater in the case of the

leaders of the two communities than in that of the Government. Although the Government committed a mistake in not inviting the leaders to restore peace and good will between the excited people at Kovur, we do not see why the latter should not have taken the initiative and prevented the mischief from going to such lengths......................In these circumstances, it is the bounden duty of the people interested in the welfare of this country to see that saner counsels prevail. The Hindus might have been mistaken in their past actions or the Moslems might have been the sole persons to blame; but this is not the time to apportion the blame. We have only to repent for what has been done and turn over a new leaf. We earnestly hope that both the people and the authorities will look to this task without any more loss of time and see that the two communities abandon their useless and suicidal strife."

(k) General.

10. In an article under the heading "The Sword of the Sircar" the Hindu, of the 18th August,

The Press Act and the Comrade.

writes:--"Notwithstanding that Delhi has become the capital of the British Empire in India, it seems still to retain its barbaric and hoary traditions so far as the conduct of its officials is concerned. The Comrade is a weekly paper published in Muhammadan interests by Mr. Muhammad Ali, who conducts his paper with much ability and success...................... The press in which it is printed has now been ordered to give security under the Press Act as to which the Comrade

courageously observes:--'Need we say that we could not but be prepared for "the sword of the Sircar" the moment we took our conscience as our guide. Such things are among the accidents of our existence and they will not be taken tragically. We are conscious of having committed no sin against God or man or the Government established by law in India. If the District Magistrate of Delhi has discovered anything in us that he does not like, we are sorry for him, but we remain unrepentant. Let as assure him that we shall continue to do our duty in the same spirit and with the same wish and purpose that have marked our efforts in the past. And we are perfectly confident that so long as there is justice to be had in the Courts of British India our two thousand rupees are as safe with Major Beadon as with the Bank of Bengal.' All the same, the gross injustice involved in the order to deposit security made under the Press Act not being liable to be examined in a court of law, is made manifest by cases like this. The Editor of the Comrade states that 'before the Comrade was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, the proprietor took an occasion to see Major Beadon, the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, with a view to aseertain if he would be required to deposit security for the new press he intended to establish. Major Beadon's views about the application of the Press Act were refreshingly orginal, and he expressed them with equally refreshing candour. He said that he would require every new press in Delhi to deposit security for "the sword of the Sircar must always be kept out of the scabbard".

Sir James Meston and the Cawnpore mosque deputation.

11. Referring to the deputation that waited on Sir James Meston recently, in connection with the Machhli Bazaar mosque, Cawnpore, the Indian Patriot, of the 18th August, says:--"The reply given by Sir James Meston to the deputation headed by the Raja of Mohamedabad was what was to be expected after the riot of the 3rd August. There was no hope of Government yielding to force. 'The Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force.' That was what the Lieutenant-Governor said, and that is the fundamental basis of Government's policy. On no other basis would it be possible for any Government to carry on its concerns. If the idea once gains ground that people have only to break forth and the Government will yield at once, it will be a direct encouragement to lawless elements in society, and no reasonable Indian can question the correctness of the proposition stated by His Honour......................In the matter of the Cawnpore mosque, if the agitation had been carried on in a perfectly legitimate manner and if the ignorant Muhammadans of Cawnpore had not relied on force, nothing would have been easier for Government than to respect the wishes of Muhammadans even if they were unreasonable. But after what has happened, it is impossible for Government even to reason with them. From what the Lieutenant-Governor said, it appears that a strong body of orthodox Muhammadan opinion did not regard the washing portion the mosque as having the same sanctity as the mosque proper, and orthodox opinion was apparently reconciled to the step taken by the Government..... If the Government now revokes its order, nothing will save it from the odium of having yielded to the turbulence of the least respectable portion of the community."

13. The Madras Standard of the 22nd August, writes:--

The Arms Act.

"The Government Order reviewing the reports on the working of the Indian Arms and Explosives Acts, is, as it cannot but be, dry reading..........India is a disarmed country. People who go in for arms do so in all cases, barring a few exceptions as zamindars who love sport and hunting, out of imperative necessity for protecting their person and property against the attack of wild beasts and highwaymen. Because there has arisen a handful of anarchists who resort to arms for criminal purposes, the Government need not be over-zealous in curtailing the chances of possessing arms by such law-abiding and loyal people who require them simply and solely for ensuring protection of their person and property in parts of the country where they are most exposed to attack."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 22nd August, says:--"We publish the results of the working of the Arms Act in Madras during last year. Except as the annual account of a particular work of a particular department of the Government, no interest attaches to it. To people living in towns or cities, the working of the Arms Act is of particularly no interest, but not so to people living outside the towns, or rather on the border of forests. It is a frequent cry among the villagers that firearm licenses are not as readily obtainable as they would like. Firearms are very essential to them for the protection of their lives and property. Their cattle are in imminent danger, and the wail always is that firearms are wanted, and that more and more of them are wanted............

Amidst strict restrictions do we live, and these restrictions are always a reminder to us that we have not yet, in the opinion of the authorities, advanced enough, as a people, into whose hands firearms can be placed with impunity. Every time the administration report of the Arms Act is published, it comes to us with a very discouraging feeling. With the relaxation of the rigidity of the Arms Act is also involved the larger question of the admission of Indians into the army."

The Moslem feeling on the Cawnpore riot.

14. The following appears in the Indian Patriot of the 22nd August:--"Bombay Moslems have held back from the movement of subscribing funds for the conduct of the case against the Cawnpore rioters, and we should consider, very rightly..........After the definite and convincing pronouncement of Sir James Meston, it is absolutely impolitic to keep on the cry against Cawnpore mosque and outrageous sacrilege. Nothing is to be gained by the Muhammadans; but there is much to be lost..............We still hold it impolitic that, in these times of excited feelings, when the mind is not particularly given to making nice discrimination, to make an all-India appeal for funds and to beat the swelling breast for an alleged outrage in Cawnpore, to recall a similar outrage, as it is called, at Delhi, and to give forth thanks to the executive at Karachi for having restored a mosque; these are not calculated at all to improve the feelings between the authorities and the Muhammadans. The step taken by the Bombay Muhammadans will certainly be a check on the spread of what the enemies of Muhammadans may describe as sympathy for riot; as such then their decision is very valuable and comes in time."

VI. Miscellaneous.

18. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 16th August, writes:--"The Under

The Indian Budget in the House of Commons.

Secretary of State for India introduced the Indian budget in the House of Commons last week and as usual the 'debate' was a tame affair. Mr. Montagu had no epoch-making announcement to make, nor was his speech comparable for a moment with the literary cunning and charm with which Mr. Morley (as he then was) used to invest his annual budget speeches. It would be unjust, however, not to admit that Mr. Montagu brought to bear on his task a mind imbued with sympathy for the people of India..................The most disappointing portion of Mr. Montagu's speech was that devoted to military affairs. Great expectations had been formed that as a result of the deliberations of the Nicholson Commission a substantial reduction in the military expenditure would be effected. But all such hopes are blasted, as the Indian tax-payers are to derive no relief in this direction. It is a sad commentary on British radicalism that under the most liberal of modern administrations a huge Standing Army, quite out of proportion to the real requirements of India, is to be maintained at a cost which the impoverished tax-payers can scarcely afford...............The 'debate' of this year, as we have already said, was as dull and dreary as in former years, although it was relived by the heroics of Sir J.D. Rees and Mr. Bonar Law as well as by the pontifical pronouncements of that budding politician, Lord Ronaldshay, whose only qualification for his self-sufficient assertions about Indian affairs seems to be that he was at one time an extra Aide-de-Camp to that most superior of Indian Viceroys, Lord Curzon."

19. In an article under the heading "Hostility against Indians," the Indian Patriot, of the 18th August, says:--"It is time that the eyes of the Government were turned towards the European Defence Association, which has been showing abnormal activity of late..............When the contempt proceedings against the Patrika failed, an alarmed Association, anxious for the future of India, protested against the failure of the High Court to forge a new crime. When educated India, from one end of the country to the other, was rejoicing at the result of the case, and love and faith in the British Government was being stirred in the hearts of the millions by the Calcutta High Court, the Association sounded a jarring note, to say that the joy of the Indians was gall and wormwood to them. We had occasion last week to refer to a very objectionable request from them to appoint European medical men, because they do not like being treated by Indians............The European Defence Association has again come up, and this time against the separation of judicial and executive functions. Against the one object on which the mind of educated India is set and has been set ever since it found a voice, the European Defence Association has protested. Of course, the protest is unconvincing, as indeed it must be against such a necessary supplement to civilization as the separation of executive and judicial functions. But it is a protest, given in the name of Anglo-India, and as such must create a profound feeling of disgust and discouragement in the minds of Indians, that liberal administration of this country

The European Defence Association.

will find an Ulster in the quarters represented by the European Defence Association..........Educated India clings to the words of definite hope held out by Sir Harvey Adamson, and the European Defence Association, in its turn, clings to the words of Sir Reginald Craddock who was the first to read into the Adamson promise a meaning quite different from what the public read into it. It is perfectly natural for the European Defence Association to follow up the Craddock attitude to the utmost extent.....................The European Defence Association would not hesitate to vilify the Indian Nation when such vilification is necessary. The Government of India, in a fit of British spirit, wrote some years ago about the evils of the combination of the executive and judicial functions...........The European Defence Association is prepared to set itself against civilization provided it can have the satisfaction of opposing Indian opinion. That is what it comes to, and it is for respectable Europeans to say that they do not subscribe to the views of the Calcutta Association. When the Patrika is let off by a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court, this Association cannot help smarting; when an Indian medical man is appointed District Medical Officer, this Association is 'alarmed'; when Indians demand separation of judicial and executive functions this Association must needs make mock at them and put before the Government of India and the publidc the reason and carefully considered opinion on this subject of the elected representatives of the European non-official community throughout the whole of India and that the case presented from the Indian standpoint may not

be considered for a moment to meet with any sympathy or approval in their ranks. This is a very definite sign that Liberal statesmen must be prepared to face an Anglo-Indian Ulster in India."

Indians in Canada.

20. The Indian Patriot, of the 19th August, has the following:--"The Punjab has sent forth a spirited protest against the treatment accorded to Indians in Canada at a public meeting held at Lahore yesterday. There is special significance in the protest from the Punjab, for the Sikhs constitute the majority of the population in Canada. They are soldiers who have fought wars on behalf of the Empire, and yet the miserable wail was raised at the meeting yesterday that their wives and children could not join them. A continuous journey clause has been invented, which keeps back from Canada all Indians, and this invention is a disgrace to civilization. Instead of honestly laying down the rule that no Indian subject of His Majesty the King could go and land in Canada, to say that no one from India could go to Canada unless in one continuous journey is to cheat the imperial idea that would demand why an Indian subject of His Majesty the King should ever be kept back from the Dominion of Canada................ It is when such tales are told in the case of an educated public that a painful impression is created. Where is the Great British Empire that ought to stand by the Sikh immigrant in Canada? Why are all those meaningless laws allowed to suffocate the freedom of His Majesty's subjects? Why should civilisation be mocked by a continuous journey clause? Let the golden bubble of

imperialism burst by the open assertion that no one wants the Indian because he is thrifty and puts by his money and thus soon grows into a position wherein he is able to employ Europeans as assistants."

22. The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd August, writes:--

The Indian National Congress Presidentship.

"A Karachi telegram informs us today that the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad Bahadur has been unanimously elected President of the National Congress to be held at Karachi this year, and the news will be received with satisfaction throughout the country... ....Nawab Syed Muhammad has deliberately preferred, though one among many, to be out of the rut, and it is no small credit to his independence and judgment that he has, almost alone among Muhammadans in Madras, been a nationalist and a Congress-man instead of being a mere Muhammadan. He is the President of the Mahajana Sahabha, to which office he succeeded Sir C. Sankaran Nayar, and by his tact and judgment he fills a unique place in the public life of Madras.... ....We do not, however, look upon Nawab Syed Muhammad as a Muhammadan, and do not claim him as a representative of the Muhammadan community. He is what he has made himself by his faith and conviction, a leading Indian gentleman, a steadying force in public life, one every way worthy of the confidence of the entire community."

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 23rd August, says:--"We congratulate the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad Bahadur on his election as President of the forthcoming session of National Congress to be held at Karachi. The Nawab belongs to a noble family, and

his public spirit and patriotic services are well known throughout India. He has been Sheriff of Madras for two terms and has been an elected Member of the Supreme Legislative Council for many years. He has taken an active interest in all public movements, has been long connected with the Congress movements, and was Chairman of the Reception Committee, of the Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1903. Nawab Syed Muhammad is a gentleman of moderate and progressive ~~vieqa~~ views. He commands in fyll measure the confidence and esteem of the members of the Hindu as well as of the Muhammadan community, and his election as President of the Congress will be hailed with universal satisfaction."

24. The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd August, remarks:--

The crusade against Jack Johnson.

"Sporting circles in England, in fact the entire public, if we judge aright from a telegram that we publish elsewhere, is exercised over the appearance of Jack Johnson on the Music Hall stage. Jack Johnson is a black man, and that is his crime. He has great physical prowess, which in a white man would have meant worship all over the world. They do not want Jack Johnson to appear in white countries. It is doubtful whether any license would be given to him to appear in England; it is certainly inexpedient to give him any license, for an infuriated audience may endanger his life. The strength that he will show go against him. Sympathy will flow to the white man that lies covered over with blood under his feet. We have not forgotten the Johnson-Jeffries fight in

America and the riots that followed, which was a cruel unveiling of the narrowness of the great civilization, of which we hear so much, that could not tolerate the success of a black man over the white............... Why should not Jack Johnson show his physical strength before an English audience as freely and as pleasantly as any body else. Has civilization no secret to induce tolerance in others. It is far better to say that white men refuse to fight with a Negro than that the very appearance of a Negro should strike England with consternation. Appeals are made to the licensing authorities in England to keep off Jack Johnson. The Johnson sensation, of which a faithful news agency transmits particulars all over the world, is a distressing instance of the failure of civilization and religion to conquer race prejudice."

29. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th August, invites the attention of the Government to certain remarks made by a Muhammadan paper published at Cawnpore regarding the trial of the accused in this riot case and observes:- This paper suggests that in this case, where nearly twenty people were shot dead, neither the Police nor the other officials concerned in this act of shooting should have anything to do with the trial and that the enquiry should be made by persons who took no part in the events of the day of the riot. We entirely agree in this view. We do not say that the Police of Cawnpore cannot conduct this case with an impartial mind. But if the Government wants that there should be a general satisfaction about this trial, it

The Cawnpore riot case.

should not ignore the nature of men connected with it and the human tendency in general. We do not deny that the local knowledge and experience of the Cawnpore Police will be of immense value in eliciting the truth at the trial. But at the same time it is not wise to say that the local officials and popular leaders of position should be prevented from deposing about facts which they know. We need not point out that, if this trial is conducted by officials who had no previous connection with this case, the people will have confidence in it. Whether the act of shooting has been right or wrong, the conduct of those who shot like this will have to be adjudged in the trial and therefore the wisest arrangement will be to preclude those who were responsible for this shooting from any connection with the conduct of the trial.

(k) General.

34. The Swadesamitran, of the 13th August, writes:-

The destruction and rebuilding of a mosque at Karachi.

* A portion of a mosque situated in Macleod Road in Karachi was recently demolished under the orders of the railway authorities, on the ground that the demolished portion was an encroachment on railway land. This took place on the night of the 10th instant. The news spread like wildfire among the Muhammadans in and around Karachi and the leaders among them communicated the same to the officials on the morning of the 11th idem. Immediately Mr. Hudson, the Collector of Karachi, proceeded to the spot and, after making personal enquiries, gave orders for the

demolished portion to be rebuilt at once and it was accordingly done. The numerous telegrams that were flying to the different parts of the country on the 12th idem, expressing satisfaction at the mosque having been rebuilt, prove beyond doubt that the feelings of the Muhammadans had been deeply affected by the previous demolition. It is really strange that the railway authorities at Karachi should have hastily given orders for the demolition of the mosque, without spending a thought over the probable effect it may have upon the people. The promptitude with which Mr. Hudson, the Collector, interfered and repaired the mischief wrought by the above officials is highly commendable.

35. The Swadesamitran, of the 14th August, writes:-

The Public Service Commission and the benefit the Indians may derive from it.

The Public Service Commission is now examining the educational authorities in England. All of these are at one in supporting the process of a preliminary selection before candidates are allowed to appear for the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service. The adoption of this suggestion by the Government means a good deal of harm to the Indians. Such a selection may be easily made in England, for there will be nothing to make those who select show any partiality. But, in India, the existence of different castes and creeds will make it difficult for any one to make an impartial selection. The initial responsibility in the matter of this selection rests with the heads of the colleges in which the candidates for the Civil Service examination are educated. The graduates selected by these should

be approved by the Provincial Government and their names should be sent up to the Civil Service Commissioners, through the Government of India. These Commissioners will perhaps then require proper credentials regarding the character, capability, etc., of the candidates selected. If this process is to be adopted, it will affect the Hindus very badly, as the English officials are not overpleased with them.

Leaving this alone, Mr. Montagu, while speaking in the House of Commons, pleaded for an increase of the salaries and pensions of the Civil Servants in India on the ground that the present scale was not sufficiently attractive. The English officials in India have already complained before the Public Service Commission that their salaries were inadequate. Putting these two things together, the Commission may recommend an increase of salary and pension to the Civil Servants and such a recommendation is sure to be approved by the Government. Therefore we are afraid that the result of the deliberations of this Commission will be to raise the salaries and pensions of Civil Servants in India.

The Government and the industries of the country.

36. The Swadesamitran, of the 15th August, writes:-Some days back we referred to an English company which was trying to acquire the exclusive right of carrying on a certain trade in India. Now we learn that a big match factory has been established in Burma ~~has agreed~~ by an English company and that the Government

of Burma has agreed to permit this company to utilise certain trees at concession rates. Thus foreign capitalists are opening business in India on several lines and they are granted many privileges by the Government. The Government says that the efforts of these companies result in increasing the wealth of India. We have no objection to foreign capitalists starting and working several industries in India. As long as the Indians are wasting their money in unnecessary expenditure, and do not make any attempt to become capitalists themselves, there is no use of our regretting that foreign capitalists are doing large business in India. Perhaps the suggestion of holding a trade congress every year along with the session of the Indian National Congress may lead to our people realising that they should take greater interest in trade and industries, if our country is to improve. But this does not preclude the Government from doing what it can to create an interest in the people in the matter of trade and industries. Though the scarcity of capital in India necessitates our depending upon foreign capital, it does not follow that all the officials in a concern worked with foreign capital should be foreigners. Indian youths have begun to go to foreign countries to acquire industrial training. Why should these companies not appoint some of these young men in their business? It cannot be that they will be incapable of managing these concerns, even after acquiring an industrial training in foreign countries. The Government

can well afford to insist upon the entertainment by these foreign companies of some Indians, who have had an industrial training or who have the necessary experience and knowledge, at least in return for the concessions granted by it. Moreover the Morrison Committee has suggested that Indian young men going to England for industrial education would do well to have a practical training in some factories in India. So the Government can carry out this suggestion by arranging for having the Indian youths proceeding to England for purposes of industrial education having a practical training for some time in certain big factories established in India. When our Government permits foreigners to establish big trading concerns here and to reap all the profits from them, there is nothing unfair in asking them to employ some Indians in their factories and to enable them to gain practical experience and knowledge of the work done in such factories.

The hatred of the Indians.

37. However great may be the sympathy of the Government towards its subjects, says the Sasilekha, of the 19th August, in its leader on "The hatred of the Indians," the Whites, that have stepped into this country for purposes of trade, are incessantly hating the Indians. The Whites of Calcutta have formed themselves into an association under the name of "The European Defence Association," with branches in all the principal cities of this country. They hate the Indian National Congress and advise the Government to hold absolute sway over the Indians withholding all privileges for which they aspire. Butt they are only "birds of passage" having no lasting ties with India and run away to their homes with the hoarded wealth of India.

We are going to give some instances of their iniquities. Recently the charge of the Government of India against the Amrita Bazar Patrika for contempt of Court, has been dismissed by the Calcutta High Court. On this occasion, this association strongly advised the Government to modify the law in order that such cases may be made punishable. Another instance is that, out of a reluctance to place themselves under the treatment of an Indian doctor, howsoever eminent, they urge the Government to appoint European doctors in all places inhabited by Europeans, however small and insignificant they may be. There is yet another, which is more important. The separation of executive and judicial functions has, for a very long time, been persistently advocated by eminent persons and by the Indian National Congress. It has been even assented to by the Government of India during the membership of Sir Harvey Adamson. But it is a matter for great regret that, for some reason or other, his successor Sir Reginald Craddock did not relish this idea. It would be better if there should be a rule that a successor in the Viceregal Council should accept the decisions once adopted by his predecessor in any matter. The Calcutta association is of opinion that such a separation is unnecessary since the Indians are uneducated and uncivilized. But we are sorry to note that the members of this association have betrayed their utter ignorance in this matter in the face of the policy laid down by the Liberal Party headed by Lord Morley. We are glad to note here that the Capital highly discredits their view. We strongly urge for a rule that the Whites, who come to India 'to earn their livelihood by trade and agriculture, should not meddle with the politics of the country. There is the Government that

rules the country and there are the ruled that represent grievances and crave for privileges, to grant or refuse which must rest with the Government. The interference of a third party in these matters is highly objectionable. We strongly believe that the Calcutta association will ponder over this matter and try to move hand in handwith the Indians in this country.

VI..Miscellaneous.

42. The Swadesamitran, of the 13th August, observes:--

English merchants and the livelihood of the Indians.

It appears a big trading company has been recently started in England with a capital of 2½ lakhs of rupees and is trying to obtain from the Government of India the exclusive right of carrying on different trades in India. It seems this company has already obtained from the Government of Madras the exclusive right of collecting the Dhupa seeds available in certain forests near Mangalore and utilising them for extracting oil and other purposes, for 30 years, subject to the condition of their paying an annual tax of one anna per tree yielding these seeds. We learn that there are nearly 45,800 trees of this kind in these forests. Till now these seeds were collected by Indian women in their spare moments and used for extracting oil. The right now granted to the above company has made it impossible for these women to carry on their trade hereafter. Even the Government is only a loser by having granted this exclusive right to the company. The Government has derived an income of Rs.3,000 from these seeds in certain adjacent forests, which are far smaller in extent, and yet it has now agreed to be content with an income of Rs.2,863 from 45,800 trees. While it is collecting from the people taxes which prove to be an unbearable burden for them, how is it justified in

letting off these foreign companies so cheap as this? The Government is completing even such big transactions without the knowledge of the Indians. At least, such events as affect the trade of the people and also cause loss to the Government may be brought to the notice of the Legislative Councils. Even this is not done in this Government and yet we fancy that we have some privileges under it.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 30TH AUGUST 1913.

No. 35 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

7. The Indian National Congress presidentship (H)

The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 24th August, remarks:--"The announcement made by a Bombay contemporary, that the Hon'ble Nawab Sayyid Muhammad Bahadur has been elected President of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Karachi in December next has been passed by almost unnoticed. In the old days, towards the closing months of every year, the Indian press would be alive with the discussion of the claims of rival candidates for the Presidentship of the Congress. But now hardly one in a hundred thousand takes any interest in the selection, and what is more no distinguished Indian is an aspirant for the place......................Every man who mounts the stump in these days talks glibly of duty, of service, of self-sacrifice, of earnestness of purpose. But the effect of the preaching is seldom reflected in action. Indian politics as embodied in the Congress are becoming more or more hollow.....................What is lacking is the spirit of sacrifice, the instinct of co-operation, the talent for organisation; and, nowhere have these qualities been less in evidence than in our own Presidency."

10. The Hindu, of the 28th August, writes:--"Lord Crewe's recent pronouncement as to the impossibility of the Imperial Government to get a course of action recommended by them adopted by a self-governing Colony is fraught with the greatest mischief to the future relations of the various units forming the British Empire. There can be no more provocative act than the systematic oppression and calculated wrong-doing that have characterised the conduct of the Government in South Africa during the last several years. Bitter race prejudice and trade jealousy have made South African white settlers offend the honour, self-respect and religious susceptibilities of British Indians in a way which has in it to trace of grace, fellow-feeling or anxiety to keep to the plighted word.... ....Lord Crewe's doctrine relating to the immunity of self-governing Colonies from anything partaking of force from above is not new. But where the rights of a whole people are so shamefacedly violated, and their peaceful existence so deliberately threatened, it is time that this praiseworthy cult is thrown aside for a moment and the offending Colony told, in no unmistakable language, to do the right. For offences of a far more innocent kind, the civilised Governments of Europe have not hesitated to go to war; and the Boer war is a most conspicuous example....... ....The publication in July last of further correspondence relating to the question of immigration, throws a flood of light on the zeal--or the want of it--shown by the authorities in London in regard to this matter. Between the month of February, when the South African Ministers informed the Colonial Office,

Lord Crewe and the South African immigration question.

through the Governor-General, that an Immigration Bill was being drafted, and the middle of June last, when Lord Gladstone forwarded copies of the Act as signed by him, there was only one communication from the Secretary of State to the Governor-General. Throughout these months, there was, if we are to rely on the documents presented to Parliament in July, absolutely no attempt to consider in detail the provisions of the Bill, with a view to see whether they conformed to the provisional settlement, arrived at between the leaders of British Indians and the Government or whether the directions of the Colonial Office, previously made known to South African Ministers, were respected..................We can well understand the rebuke which Lord Ampthill and Lord Curzon administered to the Imperial Government for having slept over the matter. Lord Ampthill said truly that the whole attitude of the Government had been that they did not want to be bothered with the question. Lord Crewe's stewardship has been singularly inconspicuous, and his defence of the Act only confirms us in this view............ If the Imperial authorities should still be indifferent, then it is high time for the non-official publicists in India to ask the Government of India to embark upon retaliative legislation."

VI. Miscellaneous.

The competency of Indian Judges.

31. The Swadesamitran, of the 18th August, says:-In the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu sharply rebuked Mr. MC Neill for asking a question reflecting on the competency of Messrs. Pundit Lal and Stuart, Chief Judges

in Oudh. Mr. Montagu declared that they were on the Bench because the Government of India and Lord Crewe were in every way satisfied that they were fitted for the responsibilities of that office. He added that such reflections upon British Judges would not be permitted in the Commons and claimed for Indian Judges ~~would not be per~~ the same immunity from unfounded attacks. This statement of Mr. Montagu will be received with satisfaction throughout India. The impartial and conscientious administration of justice by Judges in India forms one of the important bases for the quietude of British rule in India and the loyalty of the people towards it. The Indians have complete confidence in their Judges. It is really strange that an experienced man of the stamp of Mr. McNeill should have made disparaging remarks about Indian Judges. However, the timely rebuke of Mr. Montagu will give satisfaction to the Indians.

Sir James Meston and the Muhammadan deputation.

32. Adverting to the reply given by Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, to the Muhammadan deputation that waited upon him, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th August, says:-Though we do not know what representations were made by this deputation, it is clear from the reply of Sir James Meston that they requested that the demolished portion of the mosque should be rebuilt. He said that it was not possible to have this done and added: "Had we met some weeks ago and discussed the matter as to-day, I cannot say what the result might have been, but the whole state of affairs has been altered by the events

of the 3rd August,. Without in any way anticipating the results of the judicial enquiry about the riot, it is my clear duty to proceed on the principle that the Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force. You know the British Government is no wanton destroyer of your sacred buildings. It has preserved, restored and beautified many Muhammadan monuments of which you are most proud." We do not think that this reply would have given any satisfaction either to the deputation that waited upon the Lieutenant,Governor or to the Muhammadan community in general. The Muhammadan leaders would not have waited in deputation upon His Honour, if they entertained the idea that the British Government was a wanton destroyer of their sacred structures. It is the knowledge that the Government has been pursuing a policy of non-intervention in the matter of religion and the faith that it would not hesitate to repair the mischief inadvertently caused by its officials at Cawnpore that made the Muhammadan leaders approach him. A rupture between the Government and the people in India is caused more often by the tenacity of the English officials in trying to maintain the prestige of the Government at any cost. It is thought that it is derogatory to the Government to act according to the opinion of the people. In England and other western countries it is the will of the people that is law. But in India it is thought to be derogatory to the prestige and strength of the Government to yield to the wishes of the people, however earnest they may be about any matter and

however much they may agitate about it. Sir James Meston said that, if the Government acted on the suggestion of the Muhammadan leaders, it would lead to misgovernment and chaos. We cannot believe this for a moment. On the other hand, we think that it would increase the loyalty and affection of the people towards the British Raj. Nevertheless we would ask our Muhammadan brethren to have a little patience. Since many days have not passed by after the riot at Cawnpore, the Government is unwilling to have the demolished portion of the mosque rebuilt. After the lapse of some time, the Government itself may come to a different conclusion, after calmly thinking over the matter, and decide to have the mosque rebuilt in order to wipe out all trace of an event which tends to affect the loyalty of the Muhammadans towards it.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 6TH SEPTEMBER 1913.

No. 36 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

The proscription of the pamphlet entitled Come over to Macedonia and help us.

3. In commenting on the judgment of the Calcutta High Court, in the case in which the editor of the Comrade questioned the Bengal Government's right to proscribe this pamphlet, the Indian Patriot, of the 2nd September, says:--"To those who have been accustomed to perpetually find fault with the Calcutta High Court as the sworn enemy of the executive, the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins will come as a surprise. The same sense of responsibility, the same high statesmanship that characterise the judgment of the Calcutta High Court against the executive characterise the judgment in favour of the executive."

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 5th September, observes:--"A more scathing condemnation of the terms of the Indian Press Act of 1910 cannot be made than is contained in the judgment of the Chief Justice.....................Upon the merits of the case Sir Lawrence Jenkins finds that the notification is defective in a material particular and His Lordship said said that but for section 22 of the Act 'it would (in

my opinion) be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture. That section, however, provides that every declaration purporting to be made under the Act shall, against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place, The result is that, though I hold the notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act, still we are (in my opinion) barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare.' This seems a startling and stultifying construction of the law. It seems to us with all respect that the conclusive nature of the notification should not be held to operate against the authority which is expressly empowered by the Act to examine its correctness and propriety, viz., the High Court. Otherwise, what is to become of the power vested in the High Court to interfere? ....
A piece of legislation striking at the root of a fundamental popular right, which was hatched in a hurry and was rushed through to its goal in the teeth of great popular opposition did not deserve a better fate than to be thus exposed by the highest judicial tribunal in the country................ His Lordship has in one passage of his judgment clearly reduced the terms of the Act to a reductio ad absurdum............
It is needless to say any more than that the judgment of the Special Tribunal of the Calcutta High Court has placed in an unenviable plight the authors and supporters of the Indian Press Act and the notification declaring the forfeiture of the pamphlet entitled Come over into Macedonia and help us; while it has left Mr. Muhammad Ali without a stain on his character, according to the judgment of the High Court, it is also probably a ~~bel~~ blessing in disguise to the larger public, who are interested in maintaing the liberty of the Press.

14. Referring to the resolution on the separation of Judicial and Executive functions passed at the recent public meeting held in Madras, and to the opposition of Sir Reginald Craddock to a resolution on the same subject in the Imperial Legislative Council in April last, the Hindu, of the 3rd September, says:--"It is clear that the Government of India, with Sir Reginald Craddock as their spokesman, are sheltering themselves behind a see-saw. They will not accept the principle until the scheme is ready and no scheme can be got ready until the principle is accepted, and the whole matter has been in practical abeyance for the last five years, though Sir Harvey Adamson distinctly made a pronouncement in favour of the policy of separation of the two functions in 1908. The existing state of things is not one which is consistent with the dignity of a great Government, and it is no wonder that a body like that of the Anglo-Indian Defence Association endeavours to induce the Government to make a definitely retrograde move in regard to the matter."

Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 3rd September, observes:--"The Madras leaders held a very successful meeting on the 30th ultimo, Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao presiding, at which they discussed at length the separation of the judicial and executive functions, the reform of the India Office and the position of British Indians in South Africa.................. Mr. T. Rangachariar, who moved the resolution on the separation of the judicial and executive functions, made

out an excellent case for the reform suggested, and except it be that objection is taken to carrying it out on the score of cost, there can be no difference of opinion on the desirability of the separation. Nobody suggests that all executive officers are judicially biassed and their minds move in a uniform grove. But there is no denying that the stress of an executive officer's duties does not give him the leisure to cultivate a judicial temper and the necessary amount of mental detachment which alone can ensure the proper administration of justice.... ....The one valid objection to it is the cost which, no doubt, will be heavy. But considering the great beneficence of the reform, neither the people nor the Government need grudge the cost."

24. The Madras Standard, of the 3rd September, writes:-

The situation in South Africa.

"Last week, we wrote that Mr.Gandhi had consented to postpone the passive resistance movement at the request of the Botha Government who were then in trouble on account of the strike in the Rand as well as General Hertzog's campaign for the resignation of the present ministry. From the issue of the Indian Opinion to hand yesterday, we note that the Government of South Africa have all the same issued instructions to the Emigration officer to put the Emigration Act into operation. Our contemporary points out that the very first action under it is most merciless. It says:- 'Of about twenty Indian passengers who arrived by the S.S. Palamcotta, nine have been

-declared as prohibited immigrants, their habits being unsuited to this country.'....................Our contemporary also reports another instance which shows that the South African Government is not prepared to allow any peace of mind to our countrymen in that colony. On the Appeal Boards that have been appointed under the new Emigration Act, the different Emigration officers find a seat. Thus they themselves decide appeals against their own declarations. We do not think that even in savage countries a parallel can be found to this method of judicial administration; but there is nothing which we have been taught not to expect from South Africa."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 3rd September, says:--The Indian has no right to enter a portion of territory which forms part of the British Empire. Our vaunted rights as subjects of fair and just Britain have been reduced to nothing. While our hardships in the colonies of the Empire are being thus accentuated every day, a suggestion was put forward that the colonials must be encouraged to enter the I.C.S. But we may hope that the Indian Government will firmly stand against any such absurd scheme. The people of India are supremely thankful to the Government of India for having effectually prevented indentured emigration to Natal. We are certain that no substantial good can be achieved by relying on the Imperial Government for the redress of our grievances in South Africa. The present tension of feeling between the Government of Botha and General Hertzog's party will have made the Imperial Government

exceedingly careful in interfering in South African politics. The defiant words of General Hertzog may not have been so soon forgotten by the Imperial Government. The loyalty of Hertzog and his party to the Imperial Government may be unduly strained by any severe pressure from the latter regarding the Indian question. It is well known that the Indians can expect anything from the South African Government only during General Botha's administration; and that General Hertzog and his party will be decidedly opposed to any amelioration of the condition of South African Indians. It is therefore very unlikely that the Imperial Government will create active and powerful enemies like Hertzog by strongly upholding the cause of Indians . Any real benefit that may be derived by the South Africans can only come from the Government of India enacting some retaliatory legislation. And if the Government of India will not move the South Africans have only to depend on themselves and their saintly leaders for the ultimate realization of their just hopes and demands. That Mr. Gokhale can do anything towards the amendment of the Law in South Africa is an idle dream. His interference in South Africa politics has only tended to complicate the situation. Basing their false hopes on Mr. Gokhale's magic tour in South Africa, the South African Indians had to stop their passive resistance movement and enter into a truce with the treacherous South Africa Government. If on the other hand there had been no slackening of the severity with which the passive resisters were fighting the stubborn South Africans, a final and satisfactory solution might have been arrived at long ago............

The trumpet voice of India goes forth to South Africa to renew the struggle till the just claims are recognized.

43. The Swadesamitran, of the 28th August, writes:-

Anglo-Indian journals and the educated classes.

Certain statements made by Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao as President of the Tanjore District Conference held at Shiyali have provoked the Anglo-Indian papers at Madras. He said that the Government of India could no longer be conducted by the bureaucracy and that, as the people had begun to realise what would be beneficial to them, the Government should hereafter be conducted by means of their representatives. The Madras Mail laughs at this ~~old habits and~~ observation and remarks: "The ordinary people are still following their old habits and take no interest in public affairs. They lead a quiet life without even caring to know what rules are framed by the Government from time to time. It is the educated classes that are creating a feeling of dissatisfaction in the minds of these people. If anything is done by the Government to benefit the poor people and if this is against the interests of the rich and influential men, the Indian members in the Legislative Councils often oppose such action." We are not concerned much with the opinion of this paper regarding the views of Mr. Madhava Rao. But we cannot allow it to make any unfounded statement to strengthen its own case. Can this paper point out one instance in which the

educated Indian members in the Legislative Councils have stood against any measure calculated to benefit the poorer people? If the Indian members in these Councils had been maintaining such an attitude towards reforms beneficial to the people, how is it that it has not been mentioned till now by either the Viceroy or the provincial Governors, who preside over the Imperial or provincial Legislative Councils as the case may be? On the other hand these high officials have, more than once, expressed their appreciation of the patriotism and popular sympathy of the Indian members in the Legislative Councils. So the present accusation of the Anglo-Indian papers against the educated classes is only the outcome of their aversion to the advancement of Indians generally. When speaking on the Budget in the Parliament, Mr. Montagu stated that the dictum of "Divide and rule" found no place in the political text-book of British statesmen. This may be true. But it is regrettable to find that this maxim occupies a prominent position in the dictionary of Englishmen living in India. Some Englishmen have made it a principle to create discord between the Hindus and Muhammadans and thereby maintain their own prestige. Attempts have been made recently to establish that there is mutual hatred between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans and that the Englishmen have to mediate between them and secure the protection of the poorer classes. Now the climax has been reached by the Anglo-Indian papers trying to throw an apple o'

discord between the educated classes and the ordinary people. It is an egregious folly to divide the people of India into two classes, the educated and the uneducated. Many educated persons are connected with agriculture and other industries in the country. So the attempt to establish enmity between the educated and uneducated classes in India is only a rūse adopted by those, who have no interest in the welfare of the people of this country.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 13TH SEPTEMBER 1913.

No. 37 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The proscription of the pamphlet entitled "Come over to Macedonia and help us." (H)

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 11th September, says:--"From any Judge who commands less confidence from the public such a judgment would have met with the most serious criticism........... Notwithstanding the fact that in the Calcutta case no grounds are stated for the opinion of the local Government and the offending words or signs or visible representations are not stated or described, and though, therefore, the High Court finds that the notification is defective in material particulars, it is forbidden to declare the forfeiture illegal................. The jurisdiction given to the High Court is nominal, and not real, and there is absolutely no protection against the decision of the executive Government....... The functions of the High Court are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that has forfeited publication does not contain words which fall within the all comprehensive provision of the Act...........

The press Act has been in operation among us for some years; yet these facts, which are now so well explained by the Chief Justice of Bengal, were never so well known before, as now after the decision in Muhammad Ali's case. And more important than all these is the fact that the Act is now being put to uses to which it was never intended that it should be put. All this makes it clear that a law like the Press Act ought not to exist except in very abnormal circumstances calling for the exercise of rare powers by the State............The Act remains as a permanent record of rights lost and of liberty curtailed, without the protection from the courts which every subject has ordinarily the right to expect. Penal laws, as applied to politics, have of the late multiplied among us...............Not one of the repressive measures passed in Lord Minto's time is, in our opinion, fit to be retained on the statute book permanently. Some of them, if detained, are bound to prove mischievous, and are useless as practical remedies, in days of quiet and peace. The Press Act is of this description. In fact, as can be seen from the judgment of the Chief Justice, much mischief will be wrought by it, and, we know as a matter of fact, has been wrought by it. The time has come to consider at least whether those safeguards which Lord Minto's Government honestly intended to afford to the citizen should not be made effective enough against all possible abuse."

22. Referring to the departure to England of Messrs. Saiyid Wazir Hassan, Honorary Secetary,

The Moslem mission to England.

 The muslim miss to England

All-India Moslem League, and Muhammad Ali, Editor of the Comrade, to place before the Imperial Government the Moslem situation in India the Indian Patriot, of the 9th September, observes:-"Messrs. Saiyid Wazir Hasan and Muhammad Ali have given out to a representative of the Associated Press that events affecting Muhammadans have been developing with great rapidity during the last two or three years and that they have been advised by many of their co-religionists to go to England and place before the British statesmen and the British public their own view of the Muhammadan situation. But we are not aware of any such startling change in the political firmament of either England or India which necessitated such a precipitate departure from India.......................The British public certainly needs much enlightenment regarding Indian affairs. But we do not see what special grievances are going to be presented to the British Democracy by Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Hasan. We fear the present move is liable to cause much misapprehension in the minds of the British public. ....Our fear is that their speeches are likely to make the British public feel that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the Hindus and Muhammadans and that there are special disabilities which affect the Muhammadans and to which Hindu politicians do not give sufficient expression.

"To create such a feeling is to widen the breach between Hindus and Muhammadans which has been increasing somewhat rapidly since the Minto Morley reforms. We

hold that the energies of Mr. Muhammad Ali and other Muhammadan public men might be very profitably used in India just on the eve of the Indian National Congress which is going to be presided over by a distinguished Muhammadan..................Of course the education of the British public in Indian affairs must, to a certain extent, be useful in solving Indian problems. But in the main the man on the spot will be relied on even by British statesmen, and it will be better for Indians of whatever caste or creed to exercise all their political fervour in this country. And Mr. Muhammad Ali has chosen a very inopportune moment to make his political pilgrimate.2.

29. The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd September, observes:-

Reform of the India Council

Our readers are aware that Lord Crewe has proposed certain reforms in the constitution and work of the India Council. In writing on this subject a few days back, we expressed the hope that this Council might be abolished altogether within a few years. It is argued by some that, if this Council is abolished,x it can be replaced by a permanent committee composed of some Members of Parliament, which will advise the Secretary of State for India on matters concerning India. The contention of the Indians is that India derives no benefit from the existence of the present India Council, that it is always obstructive in the case of proposals calculated to benefit this country and that it leads to unncessary expenditure. If a Parliamentary Committee comes into existence, its members

x. The officer who is, from time to time, appointed as Secretary of State for India will begin to exercise absolute authority and that this will be highly detrimental to the interests of India. This is not true. Even if it is true, there are ways of remedying the evil when the Council is abolished,

will consider the matters connected with India with a liberal mind and without preconceived wrong impressions. The advancement of India will have their sympathy. Their decisions will often be discussed in the House of Commons. This one fact will, by itself, prove beneficial to this country. If Mr. Swift McNeill had not raised a discussion in the House of Commons about the Sitapur case, the facts connected with this case would never have seen the light of day and there would have been no occasion for the reforms now proposed by Lord Crewe in connection with appeals to the Viceroy for mercy. So however strong may be the jealousy of the Anglo-Indian officials, the control of the House of Commons and frequent discussions in Parliament appear to be very necessary in order to prevent injustice being committed in India and to give an impetus to the introduction of reforms conducive to the progress of the people. So, if this Parliamentary Committee is appointed, the existence of the India Council will become quite unnecessary. There is yet another special reason why the present Council should be replaced by such a committee and that is that the Government of India should be conducted in India and not from a foreign country. All affairs connected with this country should be finally decided here alone. This will become quite possible when our Legislative Councils become still more enlarged, and, centering in themselves all powers, are in a position to act independently. But, as India forms part of the British Empire, it is but reasonable that the

Parliament should have the power of supervising the administration of India. Where is then the necessity for the existence of this obstructive India Council? Even as it is, the Secretary of State for India can decide any matter himself, without consulting his Council, if he so likes, and it is stated that Lord Morley never used to care for this Council. So the abolition of this Council will not only result in saving the expenditure incurred upon it, but will also help the advancement of India without any hindrance. At the meeting recently held in the Victoria Public Hall to discuss the proposed reforms of Lord Crewe, an alternative proposition was brought forward that, if the Government was not for abolishing the India Council, it should at least see that four among the eight members of this Council are Indians. We, however, think that this will not improve matters much and that, even if all the eight members of this Council are Indians, the existing flaws in its constitution and work will not disappear. It will continue to be a secret association acting as a stumbling block in the case of every proposal concerning India. How can even the Indians living in London know the true state of affairs in India? For example, Sir Krishna Gupta, who is now a member of this Council, with all his patriotism and love for the people, cannot be credited with an upto-date experience of India. He may not be aware of the opinions of people in different parts of India on any particular subject. If all the four members are like Mr. Gupta, it is clear nothing good can come out of it. Therefore we should with one voice demand only the entire abolition of this Council.

In continuing its comments upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd September, writes:- Numerous instances can be quoted to show that this Council is of no use in either redressing the grievances of the Indians or helping their advancement. For example, what efforts have been made by this Council to remove the hardships suffered by the Indians in South Africa? It is stated that the reforms of Lord Morley did not receive the support of this Council. Why should we spend lakhs of our money upon an institution which is not able to do anything in the direction of relieving our distress or helping us onward in a progressive career?

30. The Swadesamitran, of the 6th September, observes:-

The separation of executive from judicial functions.

It goes without saying that our agitation for the separation of executive from judicial functions does not receive the support of the Anglo-Indians. A memorial seems to have been recently presented to the Government of India by the Anglo-Indian Defence Association of Calcutta protesting against this separation on the ground that it would weaken the Executive Government and lead to enormous expenditure. The Pioneer upholds this view and says that the Government should not ignore the opinion of this association, as it comprises 2,600 members living in different parts of India. We cannot understand the rationale of this argument. Is the opinion of 2,600 Anglo-Indians entitled to greater weight at the hands of the Government than the convenience and just claims of

crores of people? If the view of a handful of Anglo-Indians, who are only birds of passage in this country, is upheld, ignoring the feelings and opinion of the people, who have been living in this country for thousands of years and improving its wealth, trade and industries, the Indians may find it hard to continue to live here. In writing on this subject, the Madras Mail wants those who are agitating for this separation to prepare a scheme for working out their proposal. But, as pointed out by Mrs. Annie Besant at the public meeting held in the Victoria Hall, it is the Government that should take up the responsibility of preparing such a scheme and not the people. The people can only agitate about their grievances; the duty of preparing schemes to work out the proposals of the people rests upon the experienced officials of Government.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 20TH SEPTEMBER 1913.

No. 38 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The Depressed Classes Mission.

13. In commenting on the speech of Mr. Justice Miller, at the third anniversary meeting of this Mission, the Indian Patriot, of the 17th September, observes:- "In the course of his speech at the third anniversary meeting of the Depressed Classes Mission, Mr. Justice Miller sounded a note of warning to the Hindus which, although it is not the first time that such a warning has been given, cannot be too often given. Speaking of the elevation of the lower classes, he said: 'I fear that if the Hindus stand aside, it will be left to the foreigners to take up the work and there is a danger in it. The sooner it is done the better for you.' There are those who think that this question of the elevation of the depressed classes is a philanthropic or charitable object; and that is the only explanation of the wail for financial support that rose from the meeting. It is not a problem to be solved by charity; it is a problem that affects the very life of Hinduism..................The question of

the depressed classes is nothing else but the question of self-preservation of the Hindu society. This must be realised, as also that of the political aspect of the question which was described by Mr. Justice Miller's quotation from a speech he had heard years ago, that 'if it was left to foreigners to bring them up time would come when the depressed classes would awaken as your enemies and not as your friends.' An enlightened 'depressed classes,' as enemies of higher class Hindus, would have swamped society. Like the waves of the sea rushing forward, the small minority shall be swallowed by the menacing march of the majority. To every man of political foresight the problem of problems is the elevation of the depressed classes."

(k) General.

20. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th September, observes:-

The two important problems affecting India.

A public meeting was redently held in Bombay to discuss the two important problems, viz., the separation of executive from judicial functions and the condition of Indians in South Africa. Similar meetings were already held in Madras and Calcutta. If, in spite of repeated agitation, the British statesmen turn a deaf ear to all representations on these subjects, the responsibility for the evils arising thereform will rest upon themselves. Meetings are sure to be held in other places also to discuss this matter. We hope responsible statesmen will realise the feelings of the people and guard against disturbances ruffling the peace of the country.

33. The Swadesamitran, of the 16th September, says:-

The Indians in South Africa.

In a public meeting held recently in Bombay to discuss the condition of the Indians in South Africa, a gentleman is reported to have stated, that, though the Government of India could not compel the Colonial Governments to act as it liked liked, the Indian people were capable of doing it and that, if only the Indians were left free to dispose of this matter themselves, the doors of South Africa would be thrown wide open to them within two weeks. The Times of India takes exception to this statement and interprets it as meaning that, if India were not subject to the British Empire, the Indians will be able to decide this question themselves. It asks the speaker to publish, for the benefit of the Government of India, the conjuring trick by means of which he can settle this question. There is no conjuring trick implied in the words of this gentleman, nor do they indicate the views of an extremist. All that he meant was that if the South African whites are prevented from coming to this country and holding appointments of carrying on trade here and coala and other articles from South Africa are prevented from being imported to this country, the Government of South Africa would surely come down. It cannot be said that this is impossible. Does not the South African Government prevent our people going there and our articles being sent there? But the British Government is treating the Colonial whites with genuine love, while it has only a step-motherly affection for the Indians. It is only this that pains us.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 27TH SEPTEMBER 1913.

No. 39 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

Indians in South Africa.

16. In a leader under the heading "The Beginning of Passive Resistance" The Madras Standard, of the 25th September, writes:--"The fight for honour and self-respect has begun in South Africa. Sixteen men crossed the frontiers of Natal to witness a football match and fell into the meshes of the recent South African Immigration Act. All have been sent to jail including four women who accompanied them. It is stated that Mr. Gandhi will follow their example and be with them in a short time........... Thus for a second time, the Botha Government have proved treacherous to Mr. Gandhi and it is no wonder that he should have given up all hopes of effecting a peaceful settlement of the crisis....... ....The beginning of passive resistance clearly shows that the Indians now in South Africa have no hopes of peacefully compelling the Union Government to carry out their promises. It should not, however, be supposed that the situation is hopeless. Even without help from the people or the Government of India, the passive resistance movement alone can be depended upon to lead our countrymen to eventual success.......

Lord Hardinge stated the other day in clear and unmistakable terms that they would never give up the struggle until and unless the reasonable demands of our countrymen were acquiesced in by the South African Government. This pronouncement by a Viceroy, who, it must be noted, holds a very distinguished position in the councils of the Empire, is a most valuable source of strength to our side............ Thus in the fight that has begun so manfully, our countrymen can, this time, depend upon better support than three years ago, and it will not surprise any one if the next few weeks should witness their final and sure success."

Writing on this subject the Indian Patriot, of the 25th September, says; "Today we have the first of a series of incidents that will, in rapid succession, knock at the heart of India. Three of our countrymen have been arrested for crossing the borders, or, in other words, for having infringed the South African Immigration Act. We know what it means. It has begun. The passive resistance movement that will not end until every able-bodied man is in prison has begun. Mr. Gandhi is to offer himself for arrest. Day after day, hour after hour, they will break the law, march to prison, do the harshest work, and endure the most unbearable hardship, all for the sake of India. They would not be treated as an inferior race. They would not silently bear the weight of indignity tha is sought to be piled upon them. They are subjcts of His Majesty the King of England and Emperor of India

and they are proud of it. They will not behave as would ill-become the subjects of the greatest Empire in the world and the descendants of a proud and ancient people. Passive resistance means, to them, something more than disabilities removed; it means the honour of the country of their birth. To Indians in India, how powerfully should be the conviction that their countrymen far away should so gallantly hold out? Every time an Indian offers himself up for arrest, what painful effect will it produce on the public mind of India...........Every educated man and every illiterate man in India will be saying very soon the ominous words, 'it has begun.' They know what it means. It means that their brethren are hurried to jail while their wives and children are at home; and they know that to India it is a sacred duty to see that food is sent to the homes of Africa whence the bread-earner is dragged to jail in a great fight for the maintenance of the prestige of this ancient country."

(k) General.

Separation of executive from judicial functions.

27. The Tamilian, of the 24th September, expresses its strong disapproval of the separation of executive from judicial functions and especially of the proposal to deprive the European Collectors of their magisterial powers on the ground that this will lead to Indians exercising those powers, which will be detrimental to the interests of the depressed classes.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 4TH OCTOBER 1913.

No. 40 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

23. The Indian Patriot, of the 29th September, writes:

Racial distinction in Roorkee College.

"It seems that in the newly-formed department of technology, which has been opened in the Thomason College, Roorkee, arrangements have been made for the accommodation of both European and Indian students. Indian students have been provided with a barrack which has not yet proper arrangements for ventilation, and the rooms have not been provided with punkhas. That is not the case with the Europeans............There is, we think, no justification for the existence of this state of affairs in a Government-owned institution. Why should Indian students have been accommodated in a place about which they had cause to complain? Why were they forced to dwell in a place against which they had complained? ....So far as the students of the Roorkee College are concerned, they will get the fans, but it is time that the Government in every province went in search of any lurking trace of racial distinction, and most mercilessly erased it away. We have ourselves drawn attention to the maintenance, in the General Hospital at Madras, of marked difference between the Europeans and the Indian officers' quarters. We have also drawn

attention to the difference in treatment of Indian and Anglo-Indian or European in-patients, the former having only a mud pot while the latter have enamel utensils. These are small things, but a Government must not permit them. After the thorough change in the jail policy in Madras, we have large hopes that these little remnants of an old order will be soon things of the past. And the United Provinces, under Sir James Meston, may also look forward to similar welcome changes."

14. The Indian Patriot, of the 29th September, writes:-

The passive resistance movement in South Africa.

"The wife and children of Mr. Ghandi are in jail. We publish the news to-day. India will rock from one end of the country to the other at this splendid beginning of the recrudescence of passive resistance, which is nothing other than the most visible and forcible demonstration of loyalty to the British throne. 'We are proud of our relations with the Empire; we are proud of our position as the subjects of the British Empire. We are prepared to suffer and die for the sake of that position.' That is the voice playing in every Indian ear at the news of every fresh acquisition to the Transvaal jail....................When our women resolve to go to jail, India must needs pause and ask what is to become of their children--it is certain that every man and every woman will fight the good fight. From under the shadow of the British flag in South Africa the most painful sight will flash into the vision of the world of innocent men and women immersed in jail,

exposed to suffering because they are proud of the British Empire and are loyal to the King. Those who work themselves up to enthusiasm and dash themselves into the jail are the real upholders of British prestige. After one hundred years of British rule in India, if Indians should silently bear the Boer yoke and agree to live under perpetual humiliation, there will be, in the eyes of the world, a rude shock, and British prestige will suffer. To-day in the hour of glory, our thoughts rest on the children, innocent little things, who find their fathers not returning home, and the mothers know what has happened and proudly, like Spartan women, sing the lullaby of selfless patriotism to them."

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, on the 2nd October, says:--"Thanks to the persistent evil-doing on the part of the South African Government, and the culpable apathy of the Imperial Government, Mr. Gandhi and his compatriots have been forced to renew the passive resistance struggle in vindication of their rights and of the honour of their motherland, and in protest of the shameless manner in which definite promises have been broken. Reports are now arriving daily of sentences of rigorous imprisonment passed on passive resisters and this time there is every possibility of the movement not only spreading widely--for women and children are to throw in their lot with adults--but the risks, dangers and sufferings attendant on the struggle being severer and more taxing than on the last occasion. Great responsibility, therefor attaches to Indians here in the way of enabling handful of South African British Indians to w war to the end by extending to them every ki

The situation is most serious, and we do hope that the necessary measures for bringing succour to South Africa will be taken at once in India, without waiting for zealous missionaries from abroad to preach what, to Indians, should be their plain and patriotic duty............Irrespective of results, the Government of India, as guardians of Indians' honour, should, in fairness, adopt some retaliatory measures in order to show that insults and cruelties heaped on Indians in another Colony would not be tolerated by the Government of India whose duty it should be to return measure for measure. We think that retaliatory legislation is the least that could be done, and that should be done without delay. It is the obvious duty of representatives of Indian interests in the Imperial Council to bring up this subject at the earliest possible opportunity, if the Government do not--and there can be nothing more appropriate and more effective--initiate such legislation themselves."

(k) General.

29. The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd September, says:-

The expenditure of the Government of India on account of the Christian religion.

The Government of India spent nearly 28 lakhs of rupees in 1912 on the several churches in India and the ministers attached to them. In reply to a question from the Hon'ble Mr. Ghaznairs in the Imperial Legislative Council as to how the Government was justified in spending such a large amount for the propagation of the Christian religion, Sir Harcourt Butler said that the Government was quite impartial in the matter

dealing with different religions in India and that it was giving liberal annual grants even to Hindu and Muhammadan temples. He added that the very fact that the Government has not interfered with the vast endowments made on behalf of these temples by the ancient Hindu and Muhammadan kings proved beyond doubt the impartial attitude of this Government towards the different religions in India. We need not say that the Indians are not satisfied with this reply. The ancient Hindu and Muhammadan kings did not follow the policy of non-intervention in the matter of religion, as the British Government professes to do. Even the grants now given to the Hindu and Muhammadan temples are only a continuation of the old grants. So the Government of India is not right in acting unjustly in a certain matter, because it refrained from acting so in certain other matters. In England, the Government has long done away with the practice of supporting any religion. Why should not the same policy be followed in India too? While Missionaries are being sent out to India at the expense of private societies in England, with the object of proselytizing the natives of India, where is the necessity for the Government of India to spend large sums of money for evangelical work among the Englishmen here? It is easy to rob Peter and pay Paul. Though the Indians cannot afford to ignore the expenditure of 28 lakhs of rupees spend for this purpose, we have not been devoting our special attention to this matter because it does not immediately affect their comforts and conveniences.

41. The Lokopakari, of the 22nd September, writes:-

The opinion of Anglo-Indians about India.

The European officials in India are getting dissatisfied with the Indians on account of the latter claiming equal privileges with the former in all matters. They were treating the Indians very kindly as long as they were content to hold low appointments under them, as their slaves. Now that these Indians have begun to demand that they should be treated on the same level with the Englishmen, the Europeans no longer entertain their old affection for the Indians. To add to this, the Anglo-Indian papers protest against for the Indians.being given equal privileges with the Englishmen and allowed to have a larger share in the administration of the country. On account of this, the Conservative Party in England are always against the grant of fresh privileges to Indians and even the Liberal Party, who are for meting out equal treatment between Europeans and Indians, have to respect the general principles of the other party and t is why they hesitate to grant greater privileges to our people. But, all the same, it is a folly on the part of the Government to prevent the Indians from expressing their grievances by means of newspapers. If public opinion is smothered, it is sure to result in serious injury. So, the Government should grant to the Indians all the privileges enjoyed by the Englishmen. It can rest assured that no harm will result from this.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 11TH OCTOBER 1913.

No. 41 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The recent outrage in Bengal.

8. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 5th October writes:- "What is described as a political murder was committed in Calcutta on Monday last, the victim being a senior head constable of the special branch of the Calcutta C.I.D. whose duty was to watch the College Square. In the evening he was on duty as usual, when from among the crowed three shots were fired at him with fatal effect. The culprit escaped, but at arrest has since been made. No reprobation of this black deed could be too strong. Such crimes set back the hand of the clock of progress and practically destroy the good work done by thousands of peaceful citizens to add to the good name of their motherland. We trust that the public of Calcutta will co-operate with the authorities not only to bring the criminal to book but to annihilate the gang altogether and free the country of the pest..............Anarchical crimes are a disgrace to any country, and particularly so to India. We hoped that we had heard the last of them. But in Bengal the anarchist still lives. Cannot Bengal society find him out and deliver him up to the terrors of the law? We hope that Lord Carmichael's Government will receive the whole-hearted and active support of the loyal and law-abiding population of Bengal in

stamping out anarchy from the land."

18. Referring to the recent murder of two Police officers in Bengal, the Swadesamitran, of the 4th October, observes:--Every one regrets for the dacoities often committed by certain youths belonging to respectable families in that Province and for the murder of officials by some mad wretches from time to time. Though the Police are able to trace the persons implicated in the dacoities and bring them to book, they have found it difficult to find out the murderers. It is nearly a year since a wretch made an attempt to kill Lord and Lady Hardinge and he is still hiding himself. There appear to have been thousands of people in the College Square at Calcutta, when a head constable was murdered, and it is therefore surprising that the murderer should have found it possible to escape amidst such a vast crowd. The question now to be decided is whether these murders are the individual acts of a few mad idiots or whether th are organised secret societies to back up these murderers. The Government thinks that there are such societies and has been enacting different laws with a view to root them out. Still neither these societies nor their members, who are responsible for such murders, have been found out. There is no doubt that the Police in Bengal have been working with a wonderful skill and courage for the last few years in suppressing the unrest and anarchical acts in that Province. They have done nothing to become the subject of animosity on the part

Anarchical murders in Bengal.

of these murderers. Even the officials who have been murdered are not persons who have incurred the displeasure of the people. So we have to conclude that these murders are committed only with a view to terrorise the Government and obstruct the administration. From the time unrest began to appear in India, the Government has been introducing many reforms with a view to gain over the people to its side and secure their co-operation. One of the objects of His Majesty's visit to India is to satisfy the people and suppress this unrest. His visit drew forth an outburst of admiration and loyal sentiments on the part of the people and he introduced great changes out of his immense love for them. Still anarchical acts have not come to an end in Bengal. The existence of these anarchists is a menace to the community itself. The people should give their hearty support to the Government in rooting out these persons. There will continue to be a stain upon the fair name of India as long as these secret societies and their agents, who should be deemed to be the inveterate enemies of the country, remain undetected.

20. The Sasilekha, of the 3rd October, in its leader on "Public Services," writes:--The promises of Their Majesties Queen Victoria. King Edward VII and King George V that all appointments are open to all their educated subjects irrespective of any distinction of caste, creed or colour, have borne no fruit. All

Public Service.

the high offices are filled up by Europeans. An Indian, however eminent he may be in educational and other qualifications, has to serve under a young European of 24 years. In the Public Service Commission, which has been constituted for the purpose o inquiring into this matter, the Civilians proclaimed in one voice that Indians, however eminent they may be, are unfit for administrative work, and that in spite of their experience they must be subordinates to Europeans. They said that Indians have not one single quality to recommend them for any responsible post. Suspicions have been cherished in some quarters of the Indian community that the enquiries of the Public Service Commission would end prejudicially to the Indians. The vacancy created in the High Court Bench by the absence of Mr. Justice Sundara Ayyar on leave has been filled up by the appointment of Mr. Spencer; the reason adduced for such an arrangement being that when Mr. Justice Oldfield was raised to the High Court Bench, the claims of this gentleman had been overlooked. This means that the Government feels itself bound to look to the interests of the Europeans to the utter exclusion of the claims of the Indians. It is a fact that the Civilians wield a great influence in the Government. The Viceroy and the Governors are practically guided by them. Let alone such high positions as those of the Secretaries, Members of the Board of Revenue, Collectors and the District Judges. The Indians are kept out from high positions even in the Police, Salt and Abkari, Medical, and Educational departments. Europeans are started in the Imperial Service while the Indians

can only hope to rise to the Provincial. In South Africa, Indians are not allowed to sit by the side of a European in a railway carriage. They cannot live in the streets inhabited by the Europeans. In spite of higher educational qualifications, even in India, they are held in low esteem by the Europeans and are not admitted into the higher appointments of the Public Service. Examinations are very difficult in India, but not so in England. Students who are unable to take the degrees of B.A. and B.L. in India easily manage to obtain in England the degrees of M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law in a very short time. Such persons, with all their degrees, are not fit to hold a candle to an indigenous vakil of the High Court. If love should be fostered between the Indians and the Europeans, it is necessary that the Government should freely admit educated Indians to higher service.

VI. Miscellaneous.

27. The Jananukulan, of the 17th September, writes:-

Mr. Tilak and the officials.

Last year the festivities in connection with the Vinayaka Chathurthi at Nagpur were prohibited by the District Magistrate of the place on the ground that a photo of Mr. Tilak was hung up next to the Vinayakar. Recently a man was fined Rs.50 by the Second-class Magistrate of Ratnagiri for having sold pictures of Mr. Tilak, which was however reduced to Rs.25/- by the District Magistrate on appeal. In another case one Mr. ~~P.B.~~ Bhag was fined Rs.75/- for

having in his possession exercise books with the figure of Mr. Tilak printed on them. But the conviction in both these cases was quashed by the High Court of Bombay. Still all this shows the aversion of the officials towards Mr. Tilak. It is true that he was punished for an offence. But it cannot be denied that he is an ardent patriot, prepared to sacrifice his all for his country. His works on Vedanta have won the admiration of even the westerns. Even as regards his punishment, it should not be forgotten that he was declared guilty by a majority of seven of the jury against one and that all these seven were Europeans. Even to-day there are many who sympathise with Mr. Tilak in his distress. It is a fact known to all that he is kept in a palatial building at Mandalay and given the best treatment possible by our Government, and yet why should some officials be afraid to see even the picture of Mr. Tilak. It is needless to point out that, by their conduct, they are only wounding the feelings of the Hindus who consider the English Government to be the best one. Let us hope that they will, hereafter at least, wipe out their misapprehensions about Mr. Tilak and pursue the same policy as is adopted by the Government.

28. The Lokopakari, of the 29th September, writes:-

Indians in South Africa.

We have often complained of the indifference of our Government in the matter of removing the hardships to which our countrymen are subjected in South Africa. When one Government ill-treats its subjects, other Governments are bound to interfere and prevent the same. The British Government itself has done this on many occasions, and yet it is quietly allowing the

Indians, who are its subjects, to be treated like cattle by the South African Government. According to the Emigration Act, which recently became law in South Africa, the Indians cannot go from one place to another and some Indians were punished under this Act, for their having gone over to see a match. It is curious indeed that in the South African Government, man is denied even the privilege enjoyed by animals and birds of moving about freely! That this should apply to British subjects in British territory and under the highly civilised British Government is a still greater wonder! The British Government cannot plead that it is afraid of the South African Government. If it has no effective control over the Colonial Government, it is its duty to prevent the migration of Indians to foreign countries.

In commenting upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd October, says:- News is received that the Indians in South Africa, unable to put up with the ill-treatment of that Government, have begun to adopt the policy of passive resistance and that a number of Indians are already suffering unbearable hardships in prison. Such cruelties can be committed only by a Government, which is bent upon rooting out the Indians from its territories by treating them worse than slaves. Mr. Gandhi and his followers are transgressing the provisions of the law with a wonderful determination to glorify the good name of India by means of their noble and courageous conduct, risking even their lives. Of the 16 Indians already in prison, two appear to have refused to be vaccinated and to have

fasted for two days and the Colonial Government seems to have removed them to the prison at Durban, lest their example should be followed by the other prisoners in the Transvaal jail,. The suffragettes in England, who claim the most novel privileges and who commit the most daring crimes in order to gain their end, are let off from prison, if they refuse to take food while there. The Indians in South Africa do not claim any novel privileges; nor do they commit any misdeeds to gain their object, and yet they are treated like this by a most hard-hearted Government. The London Times admits that, if the Indians in South Africa are allowed to pursue the policy of passive resistance for a long time, it will result in serious injury not only to South Africa, but also to the British Empire itself, and suggests that the Government of India should depute an official to proceed to South Africa and settle the differences between the Indians and whites there, by a personal conference with the Colonial authorities. But what is the use of sending one official from India? Can the words of one individual be more effective than the heart-rending cries of numerous Indians? Moreover, we think it is derogatory to the Government of India to sue for peace at the hands of the Colonail Government by sending an official from here. In our opinion, there is only one remedy for this evil. All the Indians in South Africa, inclusive of women and children, should carry out their determination of losing their lives, if necessary, in resisting the policy of the Colonial Government. Let it be recorded in history and published to the world that the South African whites, who profess to be followers

of the noble Christian religion and to belong to the highly civilised European race, subjected innocent Indians living there to unbearable hardships and made them lose their lives. If it is established that the Indians, who are British subjects and who migrated to a country forming part of the British Empire and lived there loyally, without commiting any offence, lost their lives, unable to bear the cruel treatment of the Government of that country, it will then speak volumes of the sympathy and wisdom of the British rule! The hearts of crores of Indians living here will throb with sympathy for their brethren who have become a prey to the cruelty of a foreign Government.

But there is one way of avoiding all this. British troops are required for the protection of South Africa, and British capital is also required for its material development. Let the Colonail Government be made to understand that the British Government will surely withhold its support in both these directions, if even ordinary justice is not meted out to the Indian subjects of Britain. If the British Ministers will only show a bold front like this now, it will not take long for the South African whites to come round.

The Swadesamitran, of the 6th October, continues its comments upon this subject in the following strain:- We understand that the South African Government has come down a little after the Indians began to adopt the method of passive resistance. It appears that some Indians who sold articles without a license were imprisoned only for a day and the Magistrate who convicted them seems to have remarked that he was not going to allow them to take credit for having become victims to the injustice of the whites. Let him not do so.

If the Indians are given only light punishments, they will go on transgressing the law. Of what avail will the law then be? Excepting that the Government will lose the prestige of having passed a cruel law and that the Indians will continue to suffer hardships, no other result can follow from this.

The Supreme Court in Transvaal has recently given a curious decision regarding the marriage of an Indian Muhammadan. It has declared that though an Indian Muhammadan had married only one woman according to the rites of his religion, it should be deemed to be polygamy is in vogue. Apart from the surprising nature of this decision, it will have the effect of denying to the Indians in South Africa the privileges appertaining to a legal marriage. Thus the children of the Indians in South Africa will not be considered to be born of a legally wedded wife; and they will therefore be branded with the stigma of illegitimacy. We do not know how the British Ministers tolerate this conduct on the part of the Colonial officials.

The Morning Post suggests that the Indians can be spared from all this ignominy, if they are sent to Soudan or East Africa, where there is a demand for Indian labourers. But even there, the Indians should only be subordinate to the whites and cannot form an independent community. While there is sufficient demand for labourers in India alone, why should the Indians go to foreign countries in search of work and be subjected to all kinds of hardship? The time has come for the Government of India to make a thorough enquiry into the condition of Indians in South Africa and take proper steps to remedy their grievances.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 18TH OCTOBER 1913.

No. 42 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(h) Railways.

Racial distinction on the South Indian Railway.

5. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 11th October, has the following:- "Mrs. Annie Besant has done well in drawing attention to the way in which Indian gentlemen are sometimes treated in their own country by Europeans. An educated Hindu gentleman was travelling with Mr. Graham Pole, an English theosophist, in order to show the latter the great South Indian Hindu temples. Both travelled first class and halted one night at the Trichinopoly Junction station. When they went to the station waiting (retiring?) room which had two beds, Mr. Pole was told that he might use one, but as for the Indian gentleman, he must find accommodation elsewhere. Mrs. Besant adds that remonstrance was useless and the European stationmaster was obdurate with the result that Mr. Pole and his Hindu companion, disgusted with the absurdly invidious distinction sought to be enforced, had to seek shelter elsewhere at dead of night. In this case the European stationmaster was

probably acting under the orders of the company which, though it derives the bulk of its income from the Indians, seems to have introduced this absurdity, although his pompous remark to Mr. Pole that even a Raja had been refused admission was in questionable taste."

(k) General.

The Cawnpore mosque affair.

6. The Hindu, of the 15th October, writes:-"The visit of His Excellency Lord Hardinge to Cawnpore yesterday was of unique interest. It must be specially gratifying to the Muhammadan community in so far as they have obtained a substantial reversal of the policy of the Government in respect of the mosque in Cawnpore, which has been the cause of so much unrest in the community. We are glad that Lord Hardinge has done the right thing in, as far as was possible, rehabilitating the portion of the mosque which had been demolished, and in directing the prosecution of those who were concerned in the riot to be withdrawn. An act like this, far from striking a blow at British prestige, as is foolishly imagined in some quarters, will strengthen the hold of the Government upon the confidence of the people.......... ....In principle, the policy which it indicates is the same as that upon which the reversal of the partition of Bengal was based........................ The withdrawal of the prosecution against the Cawnpore mosque rioters by Lord Hardinge is analogous to the release of the Hindu prisoners convicted in the Salem riots by that nobleminded Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon. We may be sure, however, that Lord Hardinge, has not, by his latest beneficent action, added to his popularity with a section of the Anglo-Indian press."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 15th October, says:-"It was a rare act of defiance of law and authority which the ~~ing-in~~ ignorant Muhammadans of Cawnpore committed on the 3rd August last; and it is a rare act of magnanimity which His Excellency the Viceroy proclaimed at Cawnpore yesterday. It is not generally the policy of the British Government to condone such a serious offence, and as Sir James Meston said recently, it becomes more difficult for Government to recede from its position after its authority has been defied. Lord Hardinge has, therefore, made a most merciful use of his prerogative in resolving to terminate the proceedings against the accused and in settling the mosque question in a way satisfactory to both Government and Muhammadans..............By a certain class of critics, indeed, His Excellency will be assailed for what they may call his weakness. They will say that a premium has been put upon disorder and violence. ....In India particular the prestige of authority has always been counted high and unassailable; and although there may be danger in ~~yil~~ yielding to a mob, there is, we believe none in showing a conciliatory and sympathetic attitude to such men as waited upon His Excellency. ....It is far better to accustom people the idea that law must be respected and order maintain at any cost; for it will be impossible for Government to excuse another riot like that of Cawnpore. A

repetition of what has occurred will have very serious consequences, and the Muhammadan leaders have undertaken to prevent such repetition. It is only on this hope that the action of the Viceroy will be justified."

The Madras Standard, of the 16th October, observes:--"It is,, however, a matter of gratification that public opinion in this country should have succeeded in compelling the Government to abandon for a time all its absurd notions of prestige and to redress the grievances of the people. This is exactly why our Anglo-Indian friends have chosen to criticise the decision of the Government. We are confident that the effects of this conciliatory step will be most far-reaching in calming the ruffled feelings of our Moslem countrymen and we congratulate them on the success of their agitation."

VI. Miscellaneous.

11. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 11th October, writes:--"The active participation of the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam and the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga in the movement to raise a suitable memorial to the Viceroy, opens a great constitutional question, observes the Indian World. The Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam is a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and His Highness the Maharaja Babadur of Darbhanga is a member of the Behar Government and as such they are both public servants. Can public servants associate themselves with movements which have for their object the glorification of their superiors and heads for the time being? If such a procedure is constitutionally

The proposed memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy.

12. In commenting on Mr. G.A. Natesan's appeal in the Press for subscriptions to aid the passive resistance movement in South Africa, the Indian Patriot, of the 15th October, says:--

Indians in South Africa.

"Mr. Natesan's appeal for funds is a challenge to Indians in the Southern Presidency to show that their heart is behind their words of indignation; that they can understand what passive resistance is; that they can realise what it is for the mother and children to be at home, when the father is in jail. To say that our heart is with them will not convince the Boer of the force behind the handful of our countrymen whom they would reduce to the position of slavery. When the father works the hardest work in the midst of the harshest condition; when the mother combats poverty, misery and sorrow in her enforced widowhood; there is no Government behind them to say: "Go on. We will take care of you. Your are fighting for the King and country and civilization." It is for the three hundred millions of India to supply this force. "We are behind you. Many lakhs we send. More will follow." Mr. Gokhale has come with words in imprecation on his lips. Fiercest is the fight, he said, and freely must money flow. Let every servant and friend of India go about, touch the heart of the people, attract, like the magnet, the ornament from the female and the money from the male......................The finger of scorn of our enemies will witheringly shake before us, should we fail at this critical hour. There is no doubt that we feel, and feel strongly. A heavy responsibility rests

on all educated men to supply the drawbacks under which our public men suffer--namely, lack of education and organisation...............There is, we think, no reason why the Government of India should not help the League. If the Viceroy can give thousand rupees to the wives and children of those shot dead at Cawnpore in the course of a riot, why should not every officer of Government subscribe to the South Africa League? Let the eyes of the officers fall on the weeping women and children, as the eyes of the Viceroy fell, not on the defiance of law and authority at the Cawnpore mosque, but on the women and children surrounding the dead..............Why should not the Sheriff call a meeting? Why should not a meeting be held under the auspices of His Excellency the Governor? The Viceroy's donation to the Cawnpore riot relief fund has shown how political considerations should not shut the official heart from real human suffering."

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Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

19. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th October, writes:-

Indians and the higher appointments in India.

The Public Works Department, is like other departments in India, divided into two portions, viz., the Imperial and the Provincial Services. The nominations for the former are made by the Secretary of State in England, mostly from Englishmen, while the majority of the members of the latter are Indians. The method of recruitment to the Imperial Service is not a competitive examination, as in the case of the Indian Civil Service, but selection by a committed appointed for this purpose in England. If Indians are to have appointments in this service, they should proceed to England and, after passing the necessary examinations, they should be apprentices under an Engineer there for one year. Even after going through all this ordeal, there is no certainty of their being selected by the committee in England. Hence it is that many Indians do not make an attempt to enter this service. Unlike this department, nominations to the Indian Medical Service are made to depend upon the results of a competitive examination. We very much wish this course to be followed in the case of every department in Public Service. Indians will then have equal oportunitis of competing for the higher appointments with Englishmen.

It is because this course is not followed in the case of the Engineering, Police, Educational and other departments that Indians are not able to aspire to the higher posts therein. There is at least a possibility of Indians entering the Imperial Services of the Public Works Department. But the regulations of the Police Department do not at all permit this. It is stated that the members of the Indian Civil Service are responsible for the general administration of the country and that only Englishmen have the capability and experience required for this purpose. It is only on this ground that Englishmen are largely recruited to this service. No such extraordinary capability is required in the Police and other departments and yet the higher appointments in these departments are also given to Englishmen, to the exclusion of Indians. Thus all the high appointments in public Service are held by the Englishmen and the Indians hold only the subordinate posts and have therefore to obey the commands of these English officials. How long are the Indians to hold subordinate positions like this and lose the prestige and advantage of holding the chif appointments? If the Indians are treated like this in their own country, what respect will the world have for them? A few Indians have really been given some of the higher appointments and have they been found wanting in either capability or intelligence?

31. The Swadesamitran, of the 7th October, writes:-

The Muhammadans and the Government.

A meeting was recently held at Delhi by some Muhammadan leaders with the object of pacifying their co-religionists and impressing on them the necessity of refraining from indulging in outburts of temper on

account of the actions of Government. The Nawab of Rampur, who presided at this meeting, observed that, if the Muhammadans would only follow a peaceful procedure as regards the Government, it would be possible to accomplish all their objects. Whether the objects of a community are accomplished or not, it is not wise to exhibit a feeling of hatred and suspi against the Government. Still it will not do for the Muhammadans, with a view to adopt a peaceful procedure, to follow their old practice of not doing anything which is disapproved by the Government. The subjects are not always bound to approve of every law passed by the Government. If such enactments appear to contain any flaws, it is the duty of the popular leaders to point out the same and get them removed. The Government will never mistake fair criticism and a demand for reform to be sedition. If the opinions of the people are expressed in moderate language without exhibiting any suspicion against the Government, the latter will be prepared to receive them. Neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans should hesitate to express their opinions freely. If the popular leaders do not boldly represent the wants of the people, how can a Government conducted by foreigners know them?

32. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th October, says:-

The unrest in India.

Some Englishmen think that they can write as they please about the conduct, character and loyalty of the Indian people. This makes the British public and the members of Parliament think that the Indians are a set of ungrateful people and that they should always be held under subjection. Thus a Calcutta correspondent of the London Times has recently written

an article in that paper containing the worst vituperations against the Muhammadan community. He says that a new generation of agitators has arisen among this community, who aim at expelling the British from India, and lose no opportunity of abusing the British rule. According to him, this class comprises pleaders, schoolmasters and journalists, trained and educated by the British, but of no social standing. Similar vituperative language is often indulged in even in the case of the Hindus. In the eyes of these correspondents, all those who work for public good and criticise the actions of Government are disloyal, be they Hindus or Muhammadans. It is really regrettable that those who spread such false news and prejudice the minds of the British people cannot be effectively gagged. Another instance of Anglo-Indian prejudice is a letter of Sir B. Fuller, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to the Statesman of Calcutta, in which he says that the unrest in India is due chiefly to attempts being made to belittle the importance of the Indian Civil Service. He wants therefore that the Indian Civil Service should be strengthened and that the pay of the Police officers in Bengal should be raised, if the present unrest is to effectively suppressed. He does not stop with this. He is against the right of appeal that lies to the High Court of Calcutta in every case, as, in his opinion, this court has always acted as an antagonist of the Executive Government. It is needless to point out that the spread of such views among the British public will be highly detrimental to the Indians. Englishmen who write in such strain would be glad if the Executive Government in India had absolute power

to act as it pleased and the High Courts in the country were subject to its control in every respect. But statesmen of the stamp of Lord Morley are of opinion that if the British rule is conducted on these lines, it will, instead of strengthening the administration, only endanger the continuance of peace in the land.

33. The Vaisyamitran, of the 22nd September, comments as follows upon the condition of the Indians

Indians in England.

in England: It looks as if England will soon become another Transvaal as far as the condition of the Indians there is concerned. In the course of a speech delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale under the auspices of the London Indian Association, he stated that the position of the Indians in England was gradually becoming very irksome and that, unless a united effort was made by the Indians to improve the situation, Indian students might find it difficult even to gain admission into England. There was a time when the British public were treating the Indians with kindness and sympathy. But now things have changed and what is the reason for this? The chief reason is the difference of colour between the British and the Indians. There is a growing feeling among the British that the whole world is intended only for the whites and that other races are fit only to be trodden under their feet. As long as the Indians were implicitly obeying the commands of the British, the latter were kind to them. But now this

kindly feeling has changed to one of hatred, on account of the Indians aspiring for the high appointments under Government. The cry of the official and non-official Anglo-Indians that India is fast becoming a centre for sedition and the false reports spread by the Anglo-Indian newspapers to support this view have helped to strengthen this feeling of hatred. So the Englishmen have come to regard the Indians as an obstacle in the way of their enjoyment of certain privileges as rulers and as the enemies of British rule in India. It is very necessary, in the interests of both Englishmen and Indians, that early attempts should be made to remove this feeling. The destinies of these two races are linked together in more ways than one. The stability of British rule in India depends upon the loyalty and support of the Indians. Whatever may be the grievances of the Indians against particular Anglo-Indian officials, they have the best opinion of the cultured Englishmen occupying the higher ranks in England. So it is the duty of the Imperial Government to see that this feeling of prejudice and aversion on the part of the British against the Indians is not allowed to continue long.

34. In a leading article on the murders recently committed in Bengal, the Lokopakari, of the 13th October, observes: There is no doubt that these violent murders were committed by wicked men, but we do not think it right to say that they were the outcome of disaffection. It is but right that the culprits should be detected and brought to book, though there is not the least ground to infer from this that the

The present condition of Bengal.

inhabitants of India are miscreants or seditionists. The loyalty evinced by the Indians during His Majesty's last visit to India amply illustrates their devotion to the Throne. Those who publish seditious leaflets and those who murder public servants think that they are doing good to India, while, as a matter of fact they are traitors to their country and tend to destroy our rights and privileges by their misdeeds. It is, therefore, the duty of every Indian to trace them out and bring them to punishment, as the existence of such miscreants leads the Government to suspect the loyalty of the Indians.

39. In connection with the South African affairs,

Indians in South Africa.

the Sahifa, of the 3rd October, writes:- "It would have been better had the Government of India, at the very commencement of the difficulties, sent an officer to discuss the present crisis with the South African authorities."

In a leading article giving a translation of His

Indians in South Africa.

Excellency Lord Hardinge's recent speech in the Imperial Legislative Council touching the position of Indians in the British colonies, the Satyadeepike, of the 8th October, observes:--It would be a mistake to suppose that there is none among the white races who can be regarded as having any sympathy for these Indians. In England, prominent among those who have espoused the Indian cause in this

respect is our late Governor Lord Ampthill. Besides what efforts are being made by the Government of India to protect the interests of these emigrants can be fully gathered from the recent utterance of His Excellency the Viceroy whose warmth of affection towards Indians is no less than that of a father towards his children.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 25TH OCTOBER 1913.

No. 43 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

VI. Miscellaneous.

Indians in South Africa.

10. In commenting on the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, on the situation in South Africa, at a meeting held in Bombay recently, the Indian Patriot, of the 25th October, writes:- "Worse than the worst days of Turkish rule in Macedonia to the Bulgar and the Serb has been the South African rule to our countrymen. Every privilege is shaken; almost every privilege has been taken away. Step by step, inexorably, bare-facedly, against promised word, against the dictates of the human heart, our countrymen have been pushed for the bank to the bottom of slavish indenture labour. Every repressive action against Indians proclaims with the longest tongue that the object of the Boer is to degrade the Indian into a Kaffir. They want us, but as slaves, not as free men. They want us to dig their mines and do their behests, but for nothing else. We have no political privilege there--we ought to have had it, if the Imperial Government would redeem its promise made

VI. Miscellaneous.

10. In commenting on the speech delivered by the Hon'
ble Mr. Gokhale,

at the dawn of the indenture system. To be an Indian is a disqualification; it is a crime punishable with the withdrawal of the privileges that mark men from 'beasts of burden'--that is again an expression used by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale ....The maintenance of this struggle in South Africa is a glory to mankind, a display of the innate greatness of the human heart. Mr. Gokhale has calculated the cost of the struggle at two thousand pounds per mensem. The struggle will have to be kept up till Parliament re-assembles; in in other words, India must find ten to twelve thousand pounds. As Mr. Gokhale said to an excited India, thrilling with indignation and overflowing with sympathy, this sum is certainly not formidable. On-M- Our Moslem countrymen have shown what they can give when they are touched in the heart. The question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa is an all-India question. It should be possible to collect several times the sum required. It is very significant that Mr. Gokhale had to conclude with an appeal to his countrymen not to permit their racial prejudice to be deflected into any other quarter except the South African oppressors. Surely all Indians could grasp the force of this warning, but the warning gives us an idea of the extent to which public men like Mr. Gokhale fear popular excitement might spread."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

13. Referring to the satisfactory termination of the Muhammadan riots at Cawnpore by the timely and sympathetic intervention of Lord Hardinge, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th October, remarks:- As displaying a wonderful liberalism and political wisdom quite unprecedented in the annals of British administration in India, the great doings of Lord Hardinge in Cawnpore have created quite a stir throughout India. When Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, was approached by a few Muhammadan gentlemen to make representations regarding this disturbance, His Excellency replied that the authority and prestige of the Government had, of necessity, to be preserved and that it was not possible to rebuild the mosque which had been pulled down. The question of acquitting the accused Muhammadans did not then arise, nor did the Muhammadans of Cawnpore include the acquittal in their prayer to Lord Hardinge. That they had perfect confidence in Lord Hardinge's allaying their ruffled feelings is all that they had said. Lord Hardinge is an astute diplomat and is well-trained in statesmanship by long experience and association in high quarters. He came to Cawnpore, realising as he did ~~not~~ that superior statesmanship consists in conciliating and satisfying the people. Two kinds of opposition might have stood in the way of Lord

Lord Hardinge's doings at Cawnpore.

Hardinge's carrying out his resolution. In the first place, his own colleagues, the Members of the Executive Council, and the Anglo-Indian officials might have opposed his determination, and in the next place some Anglo-Indian papers might have raised the cry that the prestige of the British Government would be impaired by carrying out such a resolution. That he has been able to act up to his decision by setting at nought both these opposing elements brings into bold relief his rare courage, commonsense and tact. The Pioneer, the Englishman and other Anglo-Indian papers think that Lord Hardinge is a coward and has yielded to the agitation of the Muhammadans, that Sir James Meston's authority and liberty of action have been curtailed and that whenever the Hindus and the Muhammadans want to have their aspirations satisfied, they would hereafter resort to serious riots and unconstitutional methods. On the other hand, they praise Sir James Meston as a level-headed and bold civilian officer. It is in the same way that these papers condemned Lord Minto and praised Sir B. Fuller. We are familiar with the usual statement of the English papers that the Indians are ignorant children and can be ruled only by terrorising and not by conciliating them. But we have often shown that the Indians are not a whit inferior to the Englishmen in mature understanding and discrimination. We can assure the Englishmen that the minds of the Indians would in no way be unhinged by the noble doings of Lord Hardinge. The kindness and large-heartedness of the Viceroy are

prompted neither by weakness nor by timidity. The Muhammadans and the Hindus perfectly know that His Excellency has shown his mercy at this moment, realisin that this is not the time to exercise his undoubted authority. His touching words that the Viceroy of His Majesty stands in the place of a father to his subjects are such as deserve to fall from the lips of the King-Emperor himself. It will be no surprise, if the decision declared at Cawnpore, by Lord Hardinge was, as a matter of fact, given out with the sanction of His Majesty and Lord Crewe. We congratulate ourselves that we have in Lord Hardinge a Viceroy who acts in consonance with the noble mind and sympathy of His Majesty. His Excellency's conciliatory acts will never tend to impair the prestige of British rule in India. They will rather enhance their affection for that rule and their faith and confidence in its statesmen. The world will thus realise that the days of terrorism and tyrannical rule are gone, that the era of conciliation and government with the co-operation of the people has dawned and that this will promote feelings of mutual confidence and sympathy between the rulers and the ruled.

His Excellency's message to Cawnpore Muhammadans.

17. The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 15th October, offers thanks, on behalf of all the Mussalman to the Viceroy for His Excellency's excellent decision in the Cawnpore case. It assures His Excellency that His message of peace will for ever stand for a memento

of favours shown to the Muslims, tending to earn their everlasting gratitude to the Government and serving as a "seasonable drop of rain to withering crops." It hopes that the Urdu press will not be excluded from the paternal kindness, and that the securi taken from different Urdu newspapers will be returned. This procedure would be thoroughly in harmony with the message, and will certainly be adopted, as otherwise the Cawnpore case will not soon be forgotten.

18. The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 15th October, returns respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy, on behalf of the Muhammadan community, for his handsome subscription towards the relief of the Cawnpore sufferers, and adds that the gift is a token of the sympathy and liberality of His Excellency towards mankind in general.

His Excellency's subscription to the sufferers of Cawnpore.

24. In a leading article on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th October, observes:

The sufferings of the Indians in South Africa.

It is needless to urge that it is our duty to help our countrymen in South Africa in their efforts to emancipate themselves from the unbearable hardships which have befallen them there. The four South African countries of Transvaal, Natal, Cape Colony and Orange Free State have combined to harass them and insist with one stubburn mind on driving away the Indians who have emigrated there and preventing any new-comers from India from setting their feet in those countries. What the Colonial Ministers told the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale last year is one thing and what they have now legislated is a quite different thing. The new enactment absolutely prohibits the entry of the Indians in the Orange Free State and their entry in Cape Colony even from the other parts of South Africa. Thus the Indians numbering from thirty to forty thousands have lost the right which they have been enjoying hitherto. Another injustice inflicted by the new law is that any indentured cooly who settles permanently there, after five years' labour, is required to pay an annual poll tax of £ 3, and will not be re-admitted in South Africa, if he leaves it on any account for his native land; and his wife and children are doomed to the same fate. The right of appeal to the Supreme Court, hitherto enjoyed by the Indians in matter

of fact and law, has now been curtailed by the new enactment by being restricted to matters of law. In the face of such harsh new regulations, of what avail is the recent statement of Lord Crewe that no legal restrictions injurious to the interests of the Indians in Natal and Cape Colony will meet with the approval of His Majesty's Government? The rights of millions of Indians are thus trampled under foot merely to please a few thousands of Whites in South Africa. The South African Government explicitly told Mr; Gokhale that the annual capitation tax of £3 levied on the Indians in Natal would be abolished; but in direct breach of that promise the same tax has been renewed in the new enactment. The payment of this tax is compulsory for males as well as females. Besides this, there is another annual tax of ~~£3~~ £1, The highest income that an Indian labourer in South Africa can earn by hard work through the year is only £15 and out of this he is required to pay £4 a year in return for the privileges he was worked hard to acquire, though he is under the protection of the British Empire. Will such a cruelty be tolerated in any country by any Government? The proud claim that the loyal Indian subjec of His Majesty are citizens of the British Empire is ours only in theory; but in actual practice we are treated worse than slaves under the very eyes of the Emperor in the South African dominion of His Empire. The Government that has levied a capitation tax of £4 may very well raise it to £ 40 and subject the defaulting Indians, who are unable to pay it to unbearable torture in the jail. The Indians who, after paying as tax more than one-fourth of their annual income, are unable to live upon the remaining ~~prostitution. If a Government~~

~~acts-like-this,-is-there-no-superior-judicial--~~ £10 and their girls are in consequence driven to the necessity of living by prostitution. If a Government acts likes this, is there no superior judicial authority to restrain it? It is only a few English residents in South Africa whose hearts have been moved by such indescribable miseries, and highminded persons like Lord Ampthill, Lord Sydenham and Lord Curzon who have had personal experience of the long-suffering and meek nature of the Indians are endeavouring to get justice for them. But in spite of all this Lord Gladstone, the Governor-General of South Africa, has assented to the new legislation in order to conciliate the whites. Even Lord Crewe, who is bound to protect the Indians, has deserted them. It is true that His Majesty has the authority to repeal this enactment if necessary within a year; but he is not likely to go against the counsel of his ministers. The duty of the Indians at this moment is therefore clear. We must protect, with liberal contributions of money, our countrymen who are undergoing untold sufferings for earning their bread in a foreign country. The world will be justified in thinking that the Indians deserve every cruelty and indignity, if we, at this moment, hesitate to help the brethren of our own flesh and blood when they cry out in utter despair. What is involved in this problem is not so much the temporal interests of a few thousand Indians as the honour and self-respect of the Indian people as a whole. We will be discredited as a nation if we fail to rescue

our countrymen in South Africa; but if we succeed in redeeming them, our honour and good name will be established before the eyes of the world.

25- In an article under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th October, says:--We are afraid that the suggestion put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the Times that a few officials should be sent to South Africa to negotiate with the Colonial Government for the redress of the grievances of the Indians is not likely to be carried out. Reuter says that the South African Government would not welcome any sort of interference by the Government of India on behalf of the Indians, that there is no chance of altering the existing law in their favour, so long as they persist in passive resistance, and that administrative measures will be devised to meet any reasonable demands of the Indians provided that they abandon their extreme methods. If this information be true, it is vain to hope for the redress of the Indians' grievances by peaceful negotiations. The South African whites, though numbering but a few thousands, are emboldened by their pride of colour to defy the Government of India. It is derogatory to the honour of the Government of India to carry on peaceful negotiations with the obdurate whites of South Africa. Lord Crewe should advise His Majesty to exercise his right and secure the repeal of the existing law, or the Government of India should wreak its vengeance on the

Indians in South Africa.

South African whites by a legislative measure against them. The Government of India should show to the world at large on our behalf that India is not bound to send slaves for menial work to enable the Colonial whites to mamass wealth and that the Indians too, like other races, do feel the necessity of maintaining their self-respect and honour.

Hindu Moslem unity.

26. Commeinting on a speech delivered recently on this subject before the Indian Society of London by Mr. Vazir Hassan, secretary of the All-India Muslim League, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th October, writes:--Mr. Hassan said that the power of the bureaucracy which stands in the way of the Hindus and the Muhammadans combining and working for the advancement of their country should be curtailed. The main motive of the members of this bureaucracy is the maintenance of their authority and prestige, and in their opinion, the people should always be under their control and any liberty or powers conferred on them would simply weaken the Empire. But for the hindrance and opposition of these officials, great will be the progress attained by India by this time. It is they who protest against imparting a liberal higher education to the Indians, arguing as they do that the educated people turn sta seditionists. The admission of Indians to the Executive Councils and the reform and enlargement of the Legislative Councils were at first opposed by these very officials. It is they who exercise the chief authority in the India Council in London and in the Viceroy's Executive Council and it is their

friends who write to the newspapers condemning the bold and generous act of Lord Hardinge at Cawnpore. Therefore it is that Mr. Vazir Hassan said that the main effort of the combined Hindus and Muhammadans should be directed to attacking and bringing down the power of this bureaucracy. The chief cause for the differences which have till now kept the Hindus and the Muhammadans apart from each other is the promotion of the enmity between these two communities by this bureaucracy, acting under the principle of "divide and rule." From the very beginning the Hindus saw through this and endeavoured to draw the Muhammadans to their side and work for the advancement of the country. All such efforts have so far been unsuccessful and the Muhammadan community continued to stand aloof. Some of the Educated Muhammadans, however, have recently come to realize that the separation of their community from the Hindus is ruionous and that the uplift of their co-religionists and of India can be achieved only by co-operating with the Hindus, Mr Vazir Hassan spoke the absolute truth when he said that this co-operation could be facilitated by the spread of education among the Muhammadans. So long as these people remained ignorant, it was easy for our enemies to craftily keep them isolated. Educated Muhammadans have now come forward as leaders and have begun to guide their community in the path of advancement, following the example of the Hindu leaders. These educated leaders are emphasising the necessity of union of the two communities, and are consequently disliked by the English papers. These papers assert that these leaders have no influence, that their opinions are not

shared by the elders of their community and that they are not the real leaders of that community. But such writings are sure to be futile hereafter. As Mr. Ghosh observed in the London meeting, many occasions have presented themselves for the Hindus to give proofs of their sympathy and brotherly feeling towards the Muhammadans. The Viceroy's speech at Cawnpore has given as much satisfaction and pleasure to the Hindus as to the Muhammadans. There is no doubt that Mr. Vazir Hassan, being the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, is a trusted and influential leader of his community and his views are shared by several other Muhammadan leaders like His Highness the Aga Khan. Though the idea of self-government as in the Colonies may not be realized very soon, yet with the weakening of the bureaucratic opposition, the co-operation and earnest endeavours of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans for the well-being of the country, will bring in at no distant date the advent of swaraj and this great country covering an extent of 1½ millions of square miles and containing a population of 35 millions will then rise to its height and take a prominent place amongst the nations of the world.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 1ST NOVEMBER 1913.

No. 44 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

The Public Services Commission.

3. In a leader on this subject, the Hindu, of the 29th October, says:--The Members of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India are expected to arrive in Bombay to-morrow, and to commence their sittings at Delhi on the 3rd ultimo, to enquire into the working of as many as 28 departments of the Government, having already, during their last visit, conducted their investigation into the constitution and recruitment of the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial ~~Se~~ Civil Service. In connection with these two latter services, a series of questions were framed to be answered by intending witnesses and previously circulated before the arrival of the Commission, so as to enable witnesses to submit their written answers on which they could be orally examined subsequently. Not only officials, but a large number of non-officials were examined ~~subsequent~~ and a large volume of materil and useful evidence

collected, which would enable the Commission to come to a thorough understanding of the questions connected with these two services. But, unfortunately, with regard to the other departments of the Government no such procedure has, so far as we know, been adopted; no lists of questions have been drawn up and printed as regards each of these 28 departments and circulated to gentlemen who are likely to give valuable evidence and thus assist the Commission in their labours....... .... So far as we understand, only official witnesses have been selected, with the exception of a few non-officials, and in connection only with some particular departments and the apparent reason for this procedure appears to be that the forthcoming enquiry by the Royal Commissions is regarded as of a technical nature, in which only the officers of the department are competent to express an opinion. If this be accepted as the real reason, we are afraid that the scope and the objects of the enquiries of the Commission have been misinterpreted. Official witnesses move in a narrow grove, and though some of them may give expression to the disabilities under which they labour, they will be hampered, for reasons which it is unnecessary for us to go into at present, in formulating proposals for meeting the needs of the situation................. Several non-official members of the Legislative Councils, as also several of our leading men in the districts, are perfectly as competent and perhaps even more competent than the officers of the departments concerned, to offer useful criticisms on broad questions affecting the constitution and the recruitment of the various departments, while many retired officials ought to be able to give material help to the Commission in enabling

them to arrive at correct conclusions.............We trust that even now it is not too late for the Government of India and the various local administrations to summon a sufficient number of non-official witnesses competent to press the various aspects of the question for consideration by the Commission...............So far we have not heard of such an invitation to appear before the Commission having been extended to any non-official gentlemen, and we yet trust that the necessity of letting non-official light on the official system of these various departments of the public service will be realised and provided for sufficiently."

The Ay8dhya cow-killing case.

4. The Madras Standard, of the 1st November, has the following:--"When the Viceroy delivered his epilogue after enacting the last scene of the Cawnpore drama, little he must have thought of another question, kindred to the one that he put an end to. For-seeing statesmen like Lord Hardinge need hardly be told that a policy intended to soothe the feelings of a large section of the people, unnecessarily worked up to the point of explosiion, should be meant for unxversal application.................In the light of the same policy, and as a corollary to the redress of the Cawnpore Muslim grievance, the Ayodhya Hindu grievance also must be considered and redressed..............Had the Viceroy allowed the trial at Cawnpore to take its own course and end in the usual way, the Hindus would, perhaps, never have brought back to life the dead Ayodhya question The experience of every husband having two wives is that

he can insure his peace by kicking both the wives when they go wrong, but the moment.-the most unfortunate moment to him--he chooses to bestow a kiss on one offending wife after kicking the other, he is sure to create a hell for himself at home.................If it is thought right to yield to Muhammadan agitation over a strongly-felt religious issue and to pardon those who took the law in their own hands, of course in a frenzy of religious zeal, why should not the Hindus also be considered fit for the same act of clemency, especially when they had been misled to break the public peace by highly provocative circumstances?......................The strength of the Hindus' contention does not even lie in the argument, that because the Cawnpore law-breakers were amnestied, the Ayodhya riot prisoners must be released. They only wish that the Supreme Government, or for the matter of that, all Provincial Governments of British India, must adopt, in the interests of the ruled as well as the rulers, a broad statesman-like policy in dealing with exceptional situations brought about by provoking very much a people, who by tradition, habit, and conviction are peaceful and law-abiding. What we request is that the Government may be pleased to order the release of prisoners connected with the Ayodhya cow-killing riot and thus add one more link to the golden chain that binds the people to the British Raj."

Writing on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 27th October, says:--"In his speech at Bombay, on Saturday last, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale presented the South African situation with his usual lucidity and force, coupled with that never-failing fairness to the other side. It is needless to recount the details, but it will be enough when we say that the struggle that has commenced is a stupendous one and on our success in the struggle depends our true regard for our national self-respect. We have to face the situation squarely and with no small determination. We have to recognise the fact that our people, who have helped to enrich the planters and contributed to the economic development of the Colony, are not wanted. They are welcome as coolies, rather, as slaves, but as citizens of the Colony, as free men, as British subjects with a definite status, they are not wanted. ....Justice and equity and above all the fair name of the Empire, under which the Colonials and Indians find protection, require that people with whose blood ~~of~~ the Colony has been fertilised and developed should be shown a certain amount of consideration. To deny this is the negation of the elementary ideas of justice and citizenship within the Empire...............We have no other alternative but to retaliate and if the Government should fail to stand by us in this struggle, the people of India will look upon themselves, not as free citizens, but as helots of the British Empire."

The Indian Patriot, of the 31st October, remarks:- "The story of the fight of our brave countrymen in the Transvaal is daily being telegraphed to us. The workmen in the mines have thrown in their lot with the passive resisters. They are refusing to work, refusing to submit themselves to any indignity or insult, and braving the angly combination of influential capitalists. The fight is waging with great fury................ There is nothing left now but to retaliate. To close the service to South Africans, to boycott South African coal, would not only instantaneously bring them to their senses, but would infuse hope and courage in the martyrs now in jail, upholding the greatness of British citizenship by refusing to call themselves subjects of His Majesty and be slaves. It will be a great day for the daily increasing band of passive resisters that they can point to their Government being on their side. To them it will be a supreme moment in their lives when the wire brings the news that at the meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council Mr. Gokhale carried his resolution, and that effective retaliation will be used against South Africa....... .. ..A war it is, and a holy kind of war, where no blood is spilt, but where the soul of man manifests itself in all its glory. It is easier to be struck with the Bulgarian sword and to fall down and die than to realise that a lawfully wedded wife of a Moslem should be told that ~~he~~ she is but a concubine."

18. The Swadesamitran, of the 25th October, writes:-

Lord Crewe's instructions to the Civil Service.

The instructions given by Lord Crewe to the 75 members of the Civil Service recently recruited for India are noteworthy. As India is undergoing a transformation in several respects, it is no longer possible for the present-day officers of the Civil Service to rule the country as did their predecessors of old. The Indians have now become the equals of Englishmen in education and character. Since the formation of Lord Morley's Reformed Councils, the Indians have developed a capacity and courage unknown before, and are in consequence, more freely criticising the Government. This freedom should not, however, be resented by the Civilians. Lord Crewe made a general remark that the Indians' criticisms of Government are intolerable sometimes, but he did not give instances in support of his statement. When the measures of Government are discussed in our Legislative Councils by the non-official members, they do not, in the opinion of Lord Crewe, use immoderate language. On the other hand, their behaviour and language in these Councils have been acknowledged by Viceroys and Governors to be dignified and polite.

As it is impossible for the educated Indians, when they rise in strength and influence, to refrain from speaking on the actions of Government, the Englishmen themselves are aware that criticisms on the Government and scrutiny of official responsibility will be on the increase. The best way to meet such criticisms

and scrutiny lies in the promotion of cordial relations between the Indians and the Englishmen. Another important matter in which the Civil Servants were advised by Lord Crewe to take interest, in addition to discharging their legitimate official duties, is the study of the ancient literature of India. Mr. Burnell, who was formerly a District Judge in Tanjore, spent his leisure in examining the local library, and the late A.O. Hume became a specialist in the ~~suty-of~~ study of Indian birds. But it is not possible for the present-day Civilians to follow their example, as they spend their leisure hours in singing and playing in the company of their ladies, and proceed frequently to England on leave. They do not evince the same sympathy towards the Indians as before, and moreover, their time is diverted in the company of non-official Englishmen who are pouring in this country for purposes of trade and industry. We do not, therefore, believe that Lord Crewe's advice in this respect will be beneficial.

The Indian Press.

22. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 23rd October, in a leader on the Indian Press, says that the Government should approach the problem broad-mindedly, because all the papers are not alike, nor are all the editors acquainted with the true significance of freedom; and so, if any editor exceeds the bounds, it is due to his ignorance. The editor looks on his own article in a light quite different from what the authorities do.

23. The Daily Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 21st October, asks the Mussalmans to forget the Cawnpore occurrence as they have been advised to do by the sympathetic Viceroy and to convince the Viceroy, when His Excellency arrives at Madras, that they approve of his decision and that they are firm in their loyalty to the Crown.

The Viceroy's decision of the Cawnpore case.

The Daily Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 22nd October, comments again on the case and says that only mischief-makers attribute the action taken by Mussalmans to anarchism with a view to lower Mussalmans in the estimation of Government. The dignity of the Government has not been lowered but has been enhanced by the decision.

VI. Miscellaneous.

27. The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd October, in a short paragraph under this heading, writes:--A correspondent from Ranchi, writing to the Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta, reports that, at a farewell dinner given in the Government House at Ranchi in honour of Mr. N.L. Halward, the Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, at which two Indian gentlemen and an Indian lady were present, Mr. Halward observed that it was impossible for an Englishman to bring himself to the position of desiring the company of the men and women belonging to the black and yellow races, and adds that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar wrote subsequently to the Indians present at the dinner party, expressing

The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, and the Indians.

expressing his regret at the foolish effusions of Mr. Halward. It is surprising that such a narrow-minded man as Mr. Halward should have been elevated to the position of Director of Public Instruction. In the provinces in which he worked in this capacity he is sure to have treated his Indian subordinates as mere worms and to have blighted their prospects. It is hoped that the opinion he expressed about the Indians will form the subject of a question in the House of Parliament.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 8TH NOVEMBER 1913.

No. 45 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(k) General.

The Public Services Commission.

4. In a leader on this subject the Madras Standard, of the 3rd November, writes:--"The Public Services Commission meets to-day at Delhi to collect evidence on the several departments of the Public Services...............We only wish to draw attention to the vast change that has come over the country in regard to its attitude towards the Commission. When the news of its appointment first arrived in India, it was hailed in many quarters and the general impression was that their labours would not be so disappointing as those of the last Commission. But all such expectations, based mainly on the composition of the Commission and the policy of the present administration, vanished one by one and when the Commission left the shores of Bombay, it was even feared that its report might accentuate the present grievances of the people.......................We have referred more than once to the uncompromising attitude of most of the

European witnesses towards the most cherished demands of the Indians and their opposition grew in volume and intensity as the Commission travelled from one province to another. Even the Madras European witnesses, who were comparatively more liberal in their views, raised the cry of class hatred and in Bengal, a persistent attempt was made to show that Indians had no administrative capacity and were completely unfit to hold district charges. The climax was, perhaps, reached in the evidence of the Hon'ble Mr. Fenton of the Punjab Government whose deliberate opinion was that Indians were not fit for holding even the present percentage of higher appointments. While the evidence of the European witnesses thus became more and more hostile, there was fortunately or unfortunately, no similar change in the evidence of the Indian witnesses. The consequence is the present feeling among the people that the Commission might not after all fulfil the reasonable expectations of the people...............Another important consideration that has intensified the disappointment of the people is the way in which some of the Local Governments are reported to have looked upon the work of the Commission. Since the Commission have now to go more minutely into the work of the several departments, Provincial as well as Imperial, it was reasonably expected that the members to be co-opted would be chosen from among both the Services. We understand that some Local Governments have been pleased to ignore the claims of the Provincial Service in this respect. They seem to believe-

they are not bound to give their reasons for it--that the members of the Imperial Service would represent the grievances of the Provincial as well. Another equally incomprehensible decision of the Governments of the United Provinces and Madras is to choose their own witnesses to represent the different Services. This is absolutely against the instructions of the Commission and is calculated to wound the feelings of the Services concerned. We again confess our inability to see the justice of the reasons that might have influenced the Government in taking that step, and however well they may discharge their self-imposed duty the dissatisfaction caused by it will in no way be insignificant."

VI. Miscellaneous.

10. The following appears in the United India and Native States for the week ending 1st November:-

Ulster and South Africa.

"If in Ulster we have the spectacle of a policy of recklessness openly preached we have in the Colonies, especially in South Africa, the unedifying spectacle of one section of His Majesty's subjects ill-treated and subjected to indignities by another section. The almost criminal unconcern with which British statesmen look at this negation of all Imperial ideals, and the latitude allowed in Ireland to Carson Smith & Co., to preach doctrines utterly subversive of orderly government, go to prove that the Empire is far from having been consolidated into an ordered whole."

14. In a leading article under this heading the Hindu, of the 6th November, remarks:--"Lord Crewe,

Ulster and India.

a few days later, stated in a public speech that he heard from authoritative sources that the effect in India of the Ulster campaign was becoming a serious matter. 'If the Ulster arguments were good, then there was no possible answer if the same arguments were used by those desirous of promoting a revolution in India.' ....In thus expressing his apprehension as to its effects on India, he assumed that there existed in this country some considerable section of people who were desirous of promoting a revolution, and the example of Ulster would operate as a stimulus to their revolutionary desire. Lord Crewe has heard of the existence of these people, he said from reliable sources. Who these reliable sources are, we have not been told. Irresponsible Indian correspondents to English newspapers have always been indulging in the perilous pastime of sending imaginary and mendacious accounts of the tendencies and opinions of the party of progressive reform in India......... ....If these lying correspondents be the real sources of Lord Crewe's information, his Lordship could not have received it from a more mischievous and unreliable quarter. Nobody in India knows anything of these revolutionary designs or of the people that desire to promote them. The anarchist, like the poor, may be always with us despite the best efforts of Government and the people; but he has long ago been stripped of any halo of romance he might have possessed and shown to be what he really is, a miserable degenerate, potent no doubt for mischief but held in abhorrence by

the vast majority of the people. Ulster's violent and lawless campaign cannot furnish an example for the Indian people to follow. And whatever Ulster and its friends may do, its significance, both as regards England and India, will not be mistaken."

Indians in South Africa.

15. Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's appeal of the 7th Instant, for funds to help the passive resistance movement in South Africa, the Indian Patriot, of the 8th November, writes:--"What was unanticipated has happened. Thousands have cropped up everywhere, challenging to be marched to prison. And the Government of the Transvaal has risen to the occasion. It is prepared to accept the challenge. That is the significance of a pathetic telegram from Mr. Gandhi and a frantic appeal from Mr. Gokhale. We publish the telegram and the appeal from two of the foremost sons of India. One is about to go to jail. Perhaps he is already thrown in. The other is struggling in glorious passion. He has seen with his own eyes and heard with his own ears the situation in the Transvaal. He has been cheated by promises that are now denied. It is Mr. Gokhale that calls for funds to keep up the resistance..............It is now not a question of two thousand pounds a month, but five thousand pounds. Mr. Gokhale appeals for house-to-house collections; he appeals to newspapers to start funds. Who will do it? On every one who claims to be a public man a sacred duty now devolves, in the face of Mr. Gandhi's telegram and Mr. Gokhale's appeal, namely, to collect money. Let us have a South African day like Deepavali day, and let us collect money.

As Mr. Gokhale says, let us show we are men standing by our countrymen in their hour of glory and need."

Indians in South Africa.

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 5th November, commenting on the troubles experienced by the people of India in South Africa, says that the British Government declared war against the late President Kruger basing it on this very point. It is a matter of great regret that the British Ministers have forgotten the reason for the war after conquering the Transvaal. The editor proceeds to observe that the Indian population of the colony is reported to be on the increase and the same is reported with regard to their trade and commerce. The white people consequently envy them and wish to turn them out of Africa. Hence it is that the South African Government strives its utmost to entangle Indians in difficulties by inventing different modes of annoyance. The Act of 1911 gave the Indians certain amount of satisfaction, but it is regrettable that General Botha, in utter disregard of the provisions of the Act, has made ready to annoy the Indians. The whites are viewing them with scorn. The attitude has been the cause of hurting the feelings of the Indians, and they have been strenuously exerting themselves for the last ten years to legally rid themselves of this. Section VII of the Act declares the Indians to be inferior, in all respects, to the white population. Exception has been taken to this oppressive measure by Lords Morley, Ampthill and Curzon. Lord Curzon, indeed

remarked that this section casts a slur on the South African Legislation. Moreover African-born Indians are prohibited from entering the Cape Colony in spite of the fact that such a prohibition from ent had not been in existence previously. To add to the difficulties, the Indian emigrants are prohibited from continuing their stay there after the termination of contracts, unless they pay certain amount under the Act. Their temporary absence cancels their citizenship and prohibits their return. Further, their religion is interfered with.

The paper says that cordially sympathetic as Lord Hardinge is towards the Indians and strenuously as Lord Crewe is exerting himself on their behalf, yet the union Government regards, with disapprobation, any interference of the Indian Government in this question. The paper apprehends that if the Government of India and the Imperial Government fail in their efforts, the Indians will be deeply disheartened. However the paper thinks that it is so early to despair, and that the best course now is to try and make liberal pecuniary contributions to aid our distressed brethren. The paper feels thoroughly confident that the British Government in view of the serious consequences that would result from any other course will go to the rescue of the oppressed. The usual policy of Britain as is universally known is every ready to set right an undesirable state of things as now exists, and this together with the kindly disposition of Lord Hardinge gives ample assurances for looking for a satisfactory settlement of this question.

27. The Jaridah-I-Rozgar, of the 1st November

Forcible conversion to Christianity of a Muhammadan girl at Lahore.

commenting on the decision of the District Magistrate, Lahore, in regard to the Muhammadan girl who had been forcibly converted to Christianity by the local Missionaries, says that there is no law whatever that requires one's guardians or relatives to be searched for and discovered in the case the person concerned has attained his or her majority in a legal sense. The Magistrate, however, has decided that this should be done. The paper thinks that this order of the District Magistrate was probably intended to get additional information, but this is altogether unnecessary. The facts could have been ascertained from the Missionaries themselves, who, in spite of the girl's marked unwillingness, baptized her. As the girl has already attained her puberty, the Magistrate should have taken down her statement and the shackles of Christianity which have been forced on her should have been broken and she herself should have been set free. The statement of one's voluntary conversion to Christianity in the case of a grown up person entitles one legally to continue in that religion free from all claims and molestations. The statement of a grown up girl, therefore, to the effect that she has abandoned the religion is quite sufficient to warrant her going back to her own people. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Madras, have discovered the girl's guardians and have intimated the fact to the District Magistrate and also to a certain vakil at Lahore.

The paper hopes that the District Magistrate will now at least set the girl free, and without any further delay send her back to her relatives who are at Madras.

The subjects of Native States and the Indian Civil Service.

35. In an article referring to the recent prayer of the Mysore Representative Assembly that the Government of India should be requested to consider the question of removing the ineligibility of the subjects of Native States to compete for the Indian Civil Service, the Dhanurdhari, of the 30th October, says:--As a Poona paper (Jnana Prakash) has rightly observed, how inconsistent this prayer is with the similar request of the Mysoreans that the Mysore Civil Service should not be thrown open to outsiders! The Mysoreans appear to think that the best means of effecting their progress lies in making their best intellects enter the Public Service. The drift of their arguments is that while Mysore should always be for the Mysoreans, in places outside too they must have the same privileges as others. While they thus hanker after the public service and want to protect their interests by means of restrictions on the influx of outsiders they seem to forget how essential it is to economic development to have similar restrictions to protect the industries of the State. While they fear that the Mysore Service will be swamped by outsiders if the competitive examination is kept open to them, it does not occur to them that if the importation of cheap foreign goods is not arrested indigenous industries will be extinct. There are few countries at the present day which do not owe their

economic greatness to a skilful system of protective tariffs. Did not Henry IV protect the British industries by the very same device?

VI. Miscellaneous.

40. In a leader under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 29th October,

Relief to the suffering Indians in South Africa.

observes:--Mr. Gandhi and other Indians in South Africa have adopted passive resistance as the last resort in order to compel the Union Government to accede to their legitimate demands and are prepared to undergo any hardships which may be entailed by such a course. At this juncture, it is our duty, as Mr. Gokhale said, to appeal to the Government of India to retaliate on the whites of South Africa. What the Government might do against these whites by such retaliation cannot of course be much, but it will show the indignation which India feels at the cruelties of the colonies. If, for instance, the import of coal from South Africa is prohibited in India, it might produce some apprehension in the minds of the whites. The Union Government of South Africa has virtually insulted the Government of India by its refusal to accept the proposal to send a few officials from India to negotiate with it for an amicable settlement of the South African question. Considering that South Africa and India are parts of one and the same British Empire, the fact that South Africa should set itself against friendly negotiations when there is mutual misunderstanding, shows how intensely proud it is of its own strength and independence.

The Government of India is, therefore, bound in the interests of its own prestige to retaliate on South Africa and to sever our connection with it in every way, and the Secretary of State for India should accord his consent for this.

While the sufferings of our countrymen in South Africa are more intolerable than those of the beasts of burden, the Indians in other British Colonies are in no way more happy. The Government of British Columbia has ordered the deportation of fifteen Indians in that Colony and thirty others are about to be deported. The Indian community residing there is reported to have held meetings and expressed its disapproval of such deportations, but to no purpose. Is it not because of their absolute contempt for the Indians that the ruling authorities of British Columbia are subjecting them to various indignities? The reason assigned for these deportations is that the Indians do not travel in the steamers which sail direct to Columbia from India without halting in the middle. Knowing as the authorities do that there are no such through steamers and that every steamer has to halt at China, they deport the Indians simply because they do not want them in their country. But the British Government is powerless to protest against such cruel restrictions. The Imperial laws confer the same kind of rights on all the several races inhabiting the British Empire whether they are whites or Indians. But it is evident that in actual practice the Indians do not possess those rights. What is the use of a

nominal right which cannot be exercised in practice? The British Government which presides over the Empire is unable to give a practical form to this right. To what authority, then, can the Indians appeal?

Meanwhile the troubles in South Africa are increasing. Information has reached us that the Indian coolies in the fields and plantations of Natal have run away from them, causing thereby much loss to their white owners, and that many of such run-aways have entered the Transvaal and are helping the passive resisters. It is also said that Mr. Gandhi has held a conference of the Indians working in the coal mines and sugarcane plantations, that the strike is not yet over and that the conference is still continuing. If the indentured Indian coolies thus combine with a strong mind and maintain their strike, the whites may perhaps be brought round. Besides there are thousands of Indians working in the railways and plantations in Kimberley, East Africa and other places which are outside the South African, Union, and if these also were to join in the strike along with their brethren in South Africa, they will prove to the whites and the British Government their organisation and strength and their power to injure the interests of the whites.

In concluding an article on this subject, the Liva-ul-Islam, of the 30th October, writes:--If the whites in South Africa were to oppress the Japanese in this manner, will Japan keep quiet? She will at once start for war. As the British Government alone is our help, it is necessary for that Government to interfere in this matter. If the Indians in South Africa receive our help and continue the movement

of passive resistance, they are sure to succeed. We should notm, therefore, hesitate now to help and inspire with courage our brethren who are suffering in a far off country.

Dissension among the Muhammadan leaders.

41. In commenting on the recent Moslem League dispute, consequent on Mr. Amir Ali's declining to attend a public political dinner arranged by the Muhammadan residents of London, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st November, observes:-Mr. Amir Ali's action is inexplicable to us. He says that he cannot take part in political affairs without the sanction of Lord Haldane, the Lord Chancellor. If such sanction is necessary, what prevents him from applying for and securing it? The fact of Mr. Amir Ali's being a member of the Privy Council does not surely preclude him from working for the benefit of his community. Lord Haldane himself is ever engaged in political work and will not at this juncture refuse to accord sanction to Mr. Amir Ali for working in the interests of his community. The fact is that Mr. Amir Ali's attitude towards promoting public interests is changing and is calculated to create suspicion and sorrow in the minds of those who respect him. During the time of the Turkish war, he pleaded the Moslem cause vigorously by condemning the policy of the British Government and the partisan spirit of the Christian nations. But he has become an antiquated conservative and entertains no sympathy for, nor a desire to co-operate with, the Muhammadan young men

who have now come forward to work for their community. It is preferable, in our opinion, to leave him alone and to appoint in his stead another person as President of the London Moslem League who is in sympathy with the new Muhammadan leaders.

44. The Ravi, of the 30th October, in a short article on the "Cawnpore Mosque Affair," writes:-

Cawnpore mosque affair.

The Indian press is very loud in its praises of Lord Hardinge for his great diplomacy in the settlement of the Cawnpore mosque affair. His final settlement of this affair has greatly satisfied the people all over the country. The policy followed by His Excellency the Viceroy is quite different from the policy followed by the Muhammadan rulers before and now, and it is also wholesome. The Muhammadans must however remember that this policy is the policy of the Christians and not that of the Muhammadans and they should be grateful for the justice and generosity of their Christian rulers.

45. The Sasilekha, of the 31st October, in its leader on "The vicissitudes of the Indians in the Colonies," writes:- The handful of the Europeans in the Colonies begin to persecute the Indians after the whole country has been made ready for their occupation. It seems that the Indians should not lead independent lives nor follow independent professions. They must always be slaves. We are sorry to note that His Majesty, His Ministry, the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India, are all silent about this matter.

The vicissitudes of the Indians in the Colonies.

It is necessary for the Indians to have recourse to retaliative measures shutting out South Africans and their trade from India.

The administration of India and the Civilians.

46. The Sasilekha, of the 31st October, in the course of an article on "The administration of India and the Civilians,", writes:--The Indian administration is almost entirely dependent upon the Civilians. They occupy almost all the appointments in the public service. The Viceroy and the Governors are mere tools in their hands. Even in the India Council they hold promiment places. Hence the country's fate is entirely in the hands of the Civilians. Without them, neither the Viceroy nor the Governors can do anything. According to the views of Sir H. Cotton recently expressed, the methods of Indian administration must be modified. The good old system of Government will, in view of the recent advancement of the Indians, not do for India at present. He also laid stress on the necessity for the separation of the judicial and executive functions of Government. We have to thank Lord Crewe for the views expressed, on the condition of the Indians, in his recent address to the Indian Civil Servants. Unlike a predecessor of his, who has spoken very low of the Indians as being barbarous and uncivilized, Lord Crewe has stated that the Indians must be treated like civilized human beings. The Civilians will have to remember the views expressed by Sir H. Cotton and Lord Crewe in their administration. They will have to afford further facilities for the admission of Indians into public service and thus win the gratitude of the Indians.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 15TH NOVEMBER 1913.

No. 46 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

15. In a leader on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 6th November, writes:--The co-opted members who have been appointed to help this commission have been so far only officials. If some experienced non-officials are given an opportunity to serve in this capacity, they will be in a better position to represent the interests of the Indians. The official members think that they have to suit the wishes of the Government and cannot therefore express their views boldly. Had the object of appointing this commission been merely to inquire into the special regulations in force in the various departments of the Public Service regarding promotion, leave, pension, etc., there is every propriety in such an investigation being carried on by the officials themselves. In that case it would be unnecessary for the Secretary of State for India to incur an enormous expenditure for appointing a commission like this, and everything could be done by means of correspondence.

The Public Services Commission.

But as the real object of the Commission is to determine the claims of the Indians to a share in the Public Services and to meet those claims justly, it is but proper that a certain number of popular representatives should, as far as possible, be associated with the commission in its investigation. The witnesses who have so far given evidence before the commission at Delhi are only European and Indian officials and we do not find the names of any non-officials. The commission is now conducting its investigation in regard to the Civil and Military Financial, the Geological and Forest departments. These departments are also gradually rising in importance, though the Civil Service bears the general responsibility of administering the country. It is therefore as much necessary for the Indians to be admitted to these departments as to the Civil Service. Tehhnical and scientific knowledge is an essential requisite to the officials in these departments; but the educational institutions in India are not in a condition to impart such knowledge. Until they are better equipped to fulfil this function, it is necessary for the Indians to proceed to England or other European countries for training. The Government should select suitable Indian youths who have completed their elementary course of science in India and send them for training to western countries. It is not fair to deny high appointments to the Indians on the ground that they are untrained. It does not speak well of our talents and honour that while the foreigners are filling all the higher appointments in the Government of our country we should work in humble positions under their control.

23. In a leading article under this heading,

The condition of the Indians in South Africa.

the Lokopakari, of the 10th November, observes:-The pitiable condition of the Indians in South Africa has not evoked the sympathies of either the Government of India or the British Government. Nor are the Indians able to rescue their brethren and sisters from their sufferings and hardships in that distant land. These helpless beings have therefore resorted to passive resistance as the only means by which they can embarrass the South African Union and get their grievances redressed. It is on account of disunion among the Indians that they have come to such a sad predicament. Now that they have united together in South Africa, their efforts are bound to be crowned with success. The Indians are suffering oppression, not only in South Africa but even in Canada and the Fiji and the Philippine Islands. They are looked down upon in all the British colonies. The Japanese were once similarly slighted in America. But as the Japanese Government indignantly protested against such maltreatment of its subjects, the American Government consented to grant them the free rights of the Republic. It is reasonable that the British Government should also step forward to remove the indignities to which our countrymen are subjected in the colonies. But if, owing to racial prejudice, it would not propose any means of redressing our grievances, we must ourselves seek the remedy. The best remedy that we would suggest is that the Indians should make up their minds to stop emigration to these colonies where the whites cannot do

without Indian labour. It is only then that their claims to be treated like human beings will be recognised and respected.

25. The Suvarnalekha, of the 4th November, in the course of its leader on the "Indian Coolies," writes

Indian Coolies.

The Indian coolies have, with the intent of amassing fortunes, been going to South Africa, the Malay States, Burma and Canada. They alone of all the coolies in those countries are subjected to singular disabilities. and hardships. Readers of newspapers are well aware of the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa, and the attempts made by Mr. Gandhi and others to put an end to this sad state of affairs. We are sorry to note that the Indians in the Malay States are as badly treated as their South African brethren, and they have none to advocate their cause and represent their grievances. It is,

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 22nd NOVEMBER 1913.

No. 47 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(k) General.

The Public Services Commission.

1. In a leader on this subject, the Hindu, of the 20th November, writes:--The Public Services Commission since their return to India, have been conducting their inquiry into special and scientific departments of Government and examining various witnesses chiefly belonging to the Services inquired into. There is not now the same public interest evinced in the proceedings of the Commission, and though it is certainly less than it was when the same Commission inquired into what are called the general services of the State, the Imperial and Provincial Services, still the former are by no means less important from the point of view of their necessity and usefulness to the public than are the Imperial and Provincial Services, in which the administration of the country is vested ....Somehow the belief has come to be entertained in India that the ultimate recommendations of the Commission will be disappointing

and will more or less end in the modification, generally in favour of vested interests, of some technical details such as salaries, pensions, etc., of British recruits to the Services.............. The witnesses have said a good deal about the inadequacy of the salaries of the Services, and of the rules relating to pensions, leave, allowances, the period of study leave, etc., etc., while comparatively little has been said about what is generally believed in India, and what was said in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State, to be the chief aim and purpose of the enquiry by the Commission, namely, the fulfilment of the legitimate ambitions of the educated classes in India to the highest and most responsible appointments in the Services of the State..........................No question connected with the government of India can be more important to our people than their employment in the Public Service of their country. Their present position in regard to it, stamps them with the mark of political inferiority and accentuates their subordination as a subject and dependant race. No people treated by their own Government in a manner which distinguishes them from a foreign nation as an inferior and subordinate race, can command regard or respect from other nations of the world."

VI. Miscellaneous.

3. The United India and Native States, for the week ending 15th November, writes:-

Indians in South Africa.

"The passive resistance movement,

which has been begun by Mr. Gandhi and is now being conducted, must evoke the admiration of even those who are indifferent to the sufferings of our countrymen in South Africa and are determined upon reducing them to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water in the land which they have been, to a large extent, instrumental in developing...............
The Indians have been taken to South Africa and have adopted the country as their own, just as the European colonists have done, and it is monstrous that their marriages should be regarded as invalid, while it must have been the tacit understanding that the religious and social laws of the Indians would not be interfered with. Again, the negotiations preceding the present laws contemplated the settlement of this question in favour of the validity of the Indian marriage, and the construction now put upon it by the legal judgment makes the clause utterly nugatory. We cannot conceive of a more glaring example of faithlessness than this, which will go down to history as wanton oppression of a helpless people.

"We do not know how this tragedy will end. Whether it ends in the triumph of those principles of justice and humanity for which the Indians are suffering, or whether history will repeat itself in the victory of might over right, this drama will be deeply impressed upon the Indian mind which rarely forgets an injury of this kind................

But there is a God whose mill grinds slow but surely, and we shall leave them to his judgment. But we appeal to our readers to help our brethren with funds to carry on the struggle. Let us rise to the height of the occasion and show that we deeply sympathise with our unfortunate brethren."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 17th November, says:--"If there is any mind any indignation against the atrocities committed on human beings by human beings, that indignation must express itself today against the South African Government. Where are the Christian Powers of Europe which ~~view~~ vowed the sacred vow of turning out bag and baggage the Turk for his misdoings. The worst days of Macedonia never could have approached the picture that South Africa presents today. The telegrams that appear in another column will startle civilised humanity throughout the world. Our countrymen are forced to labour in the mines. Authority, that ought to protect human freedom, draws the trigger and fires the bullet on our countrymen who refuse to be slaves..................The very coal mine, on which the strike was started, is proclaimed a prison. The strikers are forced into the prison to do hard labour. They refuse. They are tortured. They are shot down if they attempt to go away.................The Government that would stand against the workman, with bayonet and buckshot, and compel him to work in his master's mine, where he refused to work, will never do anything for them. If, instead of South

Africa, it was Turkey or Belgium that was a party to such atrocities, Europe would have interfered in the name of Christianity and civilisation. Shall it be that belonging to India and being subjects of the King of England is a crime in South Africa, punishable in a manner that is positively outrageous to civilisation? The answer to this question is a deadly affirmative unless we hear of interference from London. As for the Government of India, if it will not do everything it can do to show its indignation and horror at what happens to-day, all that we need say is the Government of India can never lay claim to represent the wishes and feelings of the three hundred millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects................When the bayonet of the South African Government presses the Indian labourer into the pit, nothing can be so useful to him--at a moment when the inspiring words of his leader are denied him, by the leader being incarcerated in prison--as a faithful account of the passionate interest with which the millions of their countrymen watch their gallant fight. Money is not all that India can give. India can also give men to take the place of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak. Let Mr. Lajpat Rai from Punjab or Mr. Gokhale himself go to Pretoria, cross the forbidden border and be arrested. Then, but not till then, would the conscience of England be roused. If men like Sir Pherozesha or Surendranath Banerji would be in

the Transvaal jail, and that for being the subjects of His Majesty, then perhaps England might be expected to enquire what really the matter was.

4. In republishing a letter, which appeared in the Straits Echo, welcoming the decision of the planters in the Straits Settlements, to reduce the pay of Indian coolies, the Indian Patriot, of the 21st November, says:--"While all India is concerned with South Africa, Madras is almost entirely concerned with Penang. God, when He Created the world, placed Penang near Madras, and the white man has penetrated even there to bear his burden. The brutal sentiments in the letter of the planter show that one need not be a Boer to feel like a Boer. Benang has been enamoured of the example of South Africa. If South Africa can do so, why not we? If they lash our brethren at the pit mouths in the Transvaal, the interesting suggestion comes from Penang that 'in order to get more work from the coolies an ample supply of rattans and cat o'nine-tails to the managers may be advisable.' And so from land to land, although the British flag may fly, Indian labourers are slaves. The white colonies look upon India as their slave market. They think they can do anything with us. We can only do and die. We appeal to Lord Pentland to realise for one moment wha really happens. He must have gathered from the speeches

Indian coolies in the Straits Settlements.

in the Legislative Council how the labourers in the field get on. They are illiterate. The cooly recruiting agent could easily allure such illiterate men by promises which may even be made in the name of Government. They know how honourable the word of Government is and eaggrly go in; they do not know that there are planters in Penang, who think that 'breach of agreement entered into on behalf of the estates by the recruiters of coolies and the promises made to them in India are not of much moment.' It is for Lord Pentland's Government to send an officer and tear away the innocent workers from their place in the steamer that wafts them to the debris of slavery and oppression. It is idle to think that a notification to the effect that there is no Protector of Indian Emigrants in Penang will keep back our ignorant people. What is the real object of the Government? Is it to stop our people from emigrating to Penang as coolies? Then Government must do something more effective than it has hitherto done."

V. Prospects of the Crops and the Condition of the People.

Poverty of the People of India.

14. The Sasilekha, of the 18th November, in its leader on the "Poverty of the people of India" states that in spite of Britain's protecting care of the liberty, life and property of the Indians, the country is becoming poorer day by day, owing to the enormous expenditure of the administration. This, it says, is the

opinion of great economists like Digby, Naoroji and Macdonald, though it may not be palatable to the Anglo-Indians and their press. It then goes on quoting the opinion of Lord Cromer with regard to the wealth of India, and mentions a number of instances where India's wealth was being utilized for purposes with which India had no concern. It says that India is a very poor country and cannot bear the prohibitive cost of administration, which can be reduced by the introduction of a larger Indian element into it.

VI. Miscellaneous.

15. The Desabhimani, for the week ending 5th November writes as follows in English:--Our readers

The South African troubles.

would have an idea of the treatment which the South African Governments accord to our countrymen there. On this subject we have very often dwelt and pointed out the injustice that is being done to our brethren who have gone there years ago and settled themselves in some lucrative and respectable walks of life. A number of laws and regulations have been passed to the prejudice of the Indians there. Our readers may also remember that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council asking them to interfere and alleviate the sufferings of the South African Indians or to undertake legislation prohibiting the emigration of Indians to these colonies, and the Government also promised to correspond with

the South African Governments with a view to amicably settle the differences between them and the Indians. Lord Ampthill, a former Governor of Madras, also took great pains to discuss this matter in the House of Lords and influence English public opinion in the matter. Mr. Gokhale also undertook a long journey to South Africa to observe the conditions present there and to confer with the chief officers of the Colonial Governments. It was expected from all these attempts that the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa would be mitigated and the honour of India would be vindicated. But all the hopes have become vain. The South African Governments have again begun their campaign against the poor Indian emigrants, who have in return entered upon their passive resistance programme. Mr. Gandhi, the leader of this resistance, has again been sent to jail. His son also was sent to jail and the same was done in the case of several other Indians refusing to conform to the dishonourable conditions imposed by the Colonial Governments, for the very existence of these people in South Africa. It is very strange that the South African people, who belong to the stock of a civilized nation and who claim brotherhood with the British, should have lost all their humane feelings and systematically persecute the Indians, who are their fellow citizens.and who owe allegiance to one and the same august Emperor. The attitude of the colonial people does not at all stand to reason. The action of

the British Government also stops short of any firm retaliatory measure, and tarries at the stage of mere passive sympathy for their Indian subjects. We are unable to understand the reason for this attitude. Is it the case that the British Government is really powerless to coerce the colonies to a reasonable understanding regarding the Indians? Or having the power, is it really unwilling to exercise that power to the advantage of a loyal people like the Indians in South Africa? Neither position is intelligible to us. The sufferings of the Indians in South Africa have reached a high pitch and ought no longer to be allowed to go unchallenged by the paternal Government. Even if the Government holds back, it is the duty of the people of India to urge on their Government the necessity for at once adopting the retaliatory measure suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. What cannot be mended must of course be ended. If the South African people cannot afford to maintain a friendly relation with our emigrants there, the best course would be to see that their emigration to these countries ceases as soon as possible. It may be that the people of South Africa cannot afford to get on without the coolies imported from India. In that case they should get them only on conditions which the Government of India impose and consider reasonable and honourable to the mother country and not otherwise. As matters at present stand, the Indians in South Africa are in a wretched plight. There are hundreds and thousands of women and children, whose supporters

and protectors have been mercilessly sent to jail and who are suffering from want of food. At this stage, our people cannot do better than holding meetings and discuss the injustice of the treatment given to our brethren in South Africa and urging their Government to take pity on these unfortunate people, and to take steps to mitigate their sufferings. So far as our people are concerned they should subscribe liberally for the relief of the sufferers until the present difficulties are solved and the passive resistance of the emigrants comes to a close. We hope that some leading gentlemen of our district will undertake to call for a public meeting and concert measures to help the helpless wives and children of our fellow Indians in South Africa whose protectors have been now undergoing incarceration for no other fault than that of vindicating the honour of Indians. We hope the people of our district will realize the importance of the situation and the necessity for help and appreciate the honourable way in which our countrymen in South Africa are resisting the dishonourable restrictions imposed on them.

Indians in South Africa.

Referring to the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi and and Mr. Polak on account of their connection with the passive resistance movement in South Africa, the Swadesamitran, of the 14th November, observes:--We have no alternative but to push our efforts steadily without losing heart at the increasing sufferings of our

countrymen in South Africa. Let us see what further hardships the United Government of South Africa has in store for them. We know not how far the King-Emperor and His Majesty's Ministers will tolerate the spectacle of his innocent Indian subjects being mercilessly crushed by the whites.

In another article on this subject, the same paper, of the 17th November, rejoices to hear that at least some of the South African whites have begun to entertain better feelings towards the Indians. In a recent speech on the Indian question, Mr. Merriman said that the whites by their actions in South Africa were placing deadly weapon in the hands of the agitators in India hostile to the British Empire. It is not among the hostile Indians alone that the actions of the whites have caused heart-burning. The seditionists in India are like a drop in the ocean and need not be taken into account. But it is a fact that millions of loyal Indians are indignant at the actions of the whites in South Africa and aggrieved at the indifference of the British Ministers. If the British Ministers will only make bold to discharge their duty, the present crisis can be got over in a day.

In a further article on the same subject, the same paper, of the 18th November, gives a pathetic description of the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa and observes:--Many of the Indians who have refused to work in the mines are flogged and are also shot. Even the beasts of burden are treated with some mercy. We do not see how the British Ministers

tolerate such excesses. The British nation has spent enormous sums of money for eradicating slavery from their empire, and even now the British Government and other European Christian Governments are striving to put an end to the slave trade, if it is found to survive in any corner of the world. How is it then that the loyal and devoted Indian subjects of His Majesty are treated worse than slaves and subjected to the diabolical cruelties?.

Anent the same subject the Chakravarthi, of the 15th November, dwells at length on the indignities heaped upon the Indians by South African colonists and the hardships and miseries that are being suffered by the passive resisters--male and female--for the sake of their national honour and appeals in strong terms to Indians to show their magnamimity and appreciation by liberally contributing to the relief of their suffering brethren.

The Satyanadam, of the 14th November, and the Nazrani Deepika, of the 11th November, have also published leaders written in the same strain.

The attitude of the British Ministers towards the Moslem leaders.

17. Adverting to the refusal by Lord Crewe and Mr. Asquith to grant an interview to Mr. Wazir Hassan and Mr. Muhammad Ali who have gone to England as the representatives of the Moslems in India, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th November, remarks:--This refusal has caused disappointment to the two Moslem representatives and is sure to displease the majority of the Muhammadans in India. We are led to think that the present attitude of the British Ministers in

this case is due to the unfavourable remarks of the Times and other English papers on these two representatives, which, we may be certain, merely echo the opinions of the Anglo-Indian officials who are the Councillors of Lord Crewe. These officials have no sympathy for the new sentiments and aspirations of the Muhammadans. What has been the experience of the Indian National Congress is now being repeated in the case of the Muhammadan awakening. Any attempt made by the people in India to obtain new rights is at first regarded by the Anglo-Indian officials as a seditious agitation and the Secretary of State for India decides the question according to their view. When once a question is decided by the Secretary of State in one way, it will not be decided otherwise either by the other British Ministers or Mr. Asquith. Lord Crewe refused to grant an interview to the two Muhammadan representatives on the ground that there are differences among the Moslem leaders. It is true that there is split in the Moslem camp, but as the representatives of the two parties are in London, Lord Crewe might have conferred with both of them. His attitude will, however, bring home one valuable lesson to the minds of the Muhammadans, namely, the lesson that union is strength, and dissension is weakness. The Muhammadans should therefore strive with one mind to promote their social and national interests by ceasing to accentuate differences among themselves on the one hand and between their community and the Hindus on the other. Though the tents

of the young Moslem party are now regarded as seditious by the authorities, this view will be changed at no distant date. It is not within anybody's power to arrest the progress of a people. It is not possible for the Muhammadans to work always under the leadership of such conservatives as Mr. Amir Ali. The young leaders of today will be the mature leaders of tomorrow. What is necessary is organization, union and strength among the Indians.

18. The Sasilekha, of the 14th November, in the course of its leader on the "Vicissitudes of the Indians in South Africa," writes:--White men that are British subjects, as well as those that are subjects of other Governments, are coming to India to amass large fortunes, one would expect that Indians also should have some rights in the matter of going to the English Colonies and earning their livelihood therein. If countries like Russia, France and Germany should object to the emigration of the Indians into their country, it would be the duty of His Majesty King George to urge before their Governments the rights of the Indians. This being so, it is a wonder of wonders to be told that His Majesty and His Majesty's ministry cannot interfere, when a Colonial Government, subject to their control, is putting their loyal Indian subjects to all sorts of hardships and privations. If the British should lose India, their Empire would be reduced to second rate importance. If, on the other hand, they should lose

Vicissitudes of the Indians in South Africa.

South Africa, it would not at all detract from the glory of their Empire. Such being the case His Majesty's indifference is felt as a great calamity by his loyal Indian subjects.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 29TH NOVEMBER 1913.

No. 48 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

The Police and the Municipal News.

1. The Madras Standard, of the 24th November, has the following:;-"The action of the Police regarding the Municipal News is still a mystery to us. It is now ten days since, according to the report of a local contemporary, the Police carried away some of the materials belonging to the Municipal News Press and our victimised contemporary has now come forward with an open letter to Lord Pentland from which we understand that the editor of the journal has not yet been informed of even the offence which resulted in that inexplicable action of the Police.................. Though the freedom of the press has been much curtailed in India, we had never thought that the executive were armed with such dangerous powers as those which the Police have used in the present case.............. The matter has now been placed before the public and the issues involved are of no small importance. We trust the higher authorities will look into this matter."

5. The Madras Standard, of the 18th November,

Indians in South Africa.

observes:--"The thrilling messages from South Africa, on the heroic stand of our countrymen and the increasing brutality of the Union Government, should make the people of this country realise the magnitude of the struggle and the gravity of the situation. A handful of men and women are, with admirable pluck and endurance, asserting their right to elementary justice and humane treatment. Almost all the leaders of the passive resisters are now in jail. The latest to join this immortal band of martyrs is our friend, Mr. Polak. Indian womanhood has once again, after the Johur of the Rajput ladies of yore, asserted its heroism to suffer and die. The sacrifice of the dauntless heroines of Rajputana stands on a much higher level, but our women in South Africa have braved the horrors of prison, its privations and hardships and even disease and consequent death. How the women of the East fight for their rights, by cheerful submission to hardships, is a glowing and pathetic contrast to suffragette assertiveness and terrorism. It is inconceivable, still it is true, that all these are happening under the very British flag, in a portion of the British Empire, to which these, our unfortunate countrymen, had been invited, after all, it would seem, to sweat and convert the arid desert of the Boer into a smiling country and quit the land, when they were no more useful as human

automatons. Is this anything else than naked slavery? ....The Union Government might invent fresh methods of brutality, forge new weapons of affliction and punishment. It might pervert the law of the land, disgrace its own constitution and go back to sheer savagery........... ....When the heart feels and the cup of suffering is filled to the brim, one cares less for nicety of expressions or possible remote consequences. Did not the Anglo-Indian papers and the British press breathe fire and brimstone when they wrote of the sufferings of that cosmopolitan crowd of the Rand prior to the Bower War? We are asked to practise the virtue of moderation and cultivate patience. Of course, we have to. The Government of India is powerless, the Secretary of State for India is impotent and the Secretary for the Colonies dare not interfere. Will the Bower W reactionaries bow to the verdict of the civilised world and for once recognise the justice of the South African Indian's cause? Let us wait and see."

Vernacular Papers.

(h) Railways.

High appointments to Indians in Railways.

15. In commenting on the evidence given before the Public Services Commission on the Railway service, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th November, writes:- As most of the witnesses were Europeans, they spoke in favour of admitting only Englishmen to the higher grades of the Railway Service and did not recommend the Indians for such posts. They, however, advocated the sending of aspiring Indians to England for practical scientific training and the establishment of

a fully equipped first-grade College of Engineering in India for the training of Indians. Their evidence in favour of the Indians is vague in that it did not clearly define the proportion of appointments to be given to them. In such countries as Japan and China, the management of railways is in the hands of the natives and not of foreigners. We are unable to understand how in India alone the European agency has become a necessity in such management? If the Indians have not the requisite capacity and skill, the Government should take steps to give them the necessary training in that direction. The policy of preferring foreigners, on the ground that Indians lack in capacity, and thus denying to the latter all opportunities to acquire such capacity can never be justified. If the Indians are to be shut out of all the Departments of Service on account of want of capacity, how on earth are they to acquire that capacity? Is it equitable that the Indians should forego the service of their own country in favour of foreigners and serve in subordinate positions in obedience to their orders for ever? As Mr. Madan Gopal observed in his evidence on agriculture, the Englishmen who hold high appointments in India carry away with them to a foreign country their knowledge and experience, when they return home on their retirement from service. If this knowledge and experience remained in India and were available to the Indians, the people would be immensely benefited. Along with knowledge and experience, the English officials carry away money. We cannot believe that all those matters have not attracted the attention of Government.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The condition of the Indians in South Africa.

20. In the course of a leading article describing the sufferings of Indians in South Africa, the Lokopakari, of the 17th November, refers to the arrest of the leaders of the passive resistance movement and remarks:--The news of this arrest has roused the indignation of all the Indians in India, who have begun in earnest to furnish their brethren in South Africa with the necessary funds to maintain the campaign of passive resistance, and public meetings are held all over India for this purpose. We trust that the Government of India, which has been indifferent to the pitiable condition of South African Indians, will, at least now, step forward to discharge its duty to the British Indian citizens in that land. It is also the duty of the Imperial Government to shake off its indifference and take steps to stop the atrocities committed by the Union Government. It is only then that the prestige of the British Empire can be maintained. In case the Government fails to do its duty and remains quiet, as it has been till now, the Indians in South Africa will not hesitate to carry on the campaign which they have begun. It is far more glorious to die in jail in fighting for one's cause than to remain a slave. It is revolting to the nature of an Indian to preserve his life after losing his honour. Our brethren should therefore act wisely at the present juncture. To desire to

acquire their rights without transgressing constitutional laws is not disloyal; They can succeed in their efforts only if they offer passive resistance without hesitation. They are only fighting for the rights which the Government of India promised to give them. If this Government fails to fulfil its promise and to bring the South African Union to its senses, all the 1,500,000 Indians now living in South Africa are ready to lay down their precious lives, as is amply illustrated by the present occurrences there. Realising that it would be difficult to support all the Indians sent to jail, the South African Government resorted to the unjust course of incarcerating their leaders. That such injustice should be tolerated in a Government under the British rule is indeed a feature of the civilization of the twentieth century.!

In writing on this subject under the heading "An appeal to the South Africa Sakya Buddhist Society", the Tamilian, of the 19th November, remarks that the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa are only a just retribution for the wrongs inflicted on the depressed classes by the higher castes in India, and advises the Panchama coolies in Sough Africa not to partake in the agitation of the passive resisters, but to wait patiently till everything is set right by the Government.

21. In an article under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th November, says:--A recent telegram

The South African troubles.

states that the Union Government of South Africa denies the truth of the alleged flogging and shooting of the Indians who have struck work. Though the Government might not have directed the infliction of such a punishment, the managers of mines and the Magistrates, who are whites, would have done so without the orders of Government. In India itself, we have seen the local officials committing misdeeds ~~iwh~~ without the permission of Government. The local officials and the brutal managers of mines in South Africa, who know that the helpless Indians are hated by the Government, would not hesitate to torture them. It is futile for the Government to plead innocence in this matter. When the Indians are tortured mercilessly like lower animals on any account and by whomsoever, the Government alone is responsible for it. It is reported that the Union Government has ordered that the strikers need not be arrested and that no force should be used against the Indians unless it becomes necessary. There is no use in merely issuing orders. The Indians should be protected from being harassed by their angry and hostile employers. It is said that some of the Indians were compelled to strike work by the threats of the leaders of passive resistance. What else can the leaders do but to have recourse to threatening, if some treacherous and cowardly Indians consent to serve under the whites, when all their countrymen submit to untold sufferings in order to save their honour and lives? It is only when all the Indians act with one mind and strike work boldly and resolutely, so as to cause pecuniary loss to ~~wh~~ the whites, that the latter will be brought to their senses.

In continuing its comments on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th November, refers to the promise recently made by the South African Union to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of these troubles, and fears that the inquiry may turn out a farce in trying to whitewash the affair without revealing the truth. It, therefore, urges that no time should be lost in India to request the Imperial Government to put an end to these troubles at once.

22. In a leading article under this heading the Swadesamitran, of the 21st November, writes:-Referring to the atrocities committed in South Africa, all the London papers sound a note of warning to the Union Government. They point out that this Government did not act with tact and prudence in this matter and that its policy will bring disaster on the British Empire itself, and urge that the Home Government should interfere at this critical state, realising its responsibility and asserting its authority. The foundation, strength and greatness of the British Empire are based upon India forming a part of it. Without India, the possession of Canada, Australia, South Africa and other Colonies will only add to the greatness of Britain, while not being materially advantageous by way of trade or revenue or as a source of strength. Britain derives all these advantages only from India. Such being the case, if the people in India are to be seething under indignation, unrest and

Disaster to the British Empire.

grief without faith in the wisdom and capacity of British statesmen, the British Empire will lose its power and strength. An attitude of confidence and love and a spirit of co-operation on the part of such a vast and populous country as India in her relations with Great Britain will surely be advantageous, while any change to the contrary in that spirit will obviously result in disaster. Realising this, the entire British press emphasize the intervention of the Home Government and the necessity of moderation on the part of the Union Government. The attitude of the South African Indians has been so far peaceful and orderly. But if the Union Government permits its soldiers and policemen and the managers of mines to harass the Indians, the latter may possibly forget themselves and treat the authorities with disrespect. Before things come to such a pass, the Union Government will do well to improve the condition of the Indians, in consideration of their own honour and of the good will of the British people. It is futile to preach to the South African whites about justice and mercy. But we think an appeal can be made with success to their own interests and the loss which they are likely to incur by being deprived of the support, of the British people.

Meanwhile, restlessness and indignation are spreading more and more among the Indian people. In a big meeting held the other day in Allahabad,

the masses are said to have dragged through the streets and burnt the effigies of some of the South African statesmen, including Lord Gladstone. As the official representative of Great Britain in South Afrida, it is the duty of Lord Gladstone to inform the Home Government of the situations that may be created in the Colony and to advise both the Home and Union Governments from time to time; and yet, he has failed to show his capacity or resoluteness in dealing with the present crisis. The Indians had been patiently bearing their sufferings and have on several occasions acted wisely with forbearance and obedience to law. In return for all this, the Union Government is subjecting them to the most cruel oppression. If Lord Gladstone had only invited the attention of the Union Government to this injustice, the present troubles might have been averted. The Members of the Viceregal Legislative Council are taking prompt steps to acquaint the Government of India with the attitude of the Indian people. The British Government cannot afford to remain passive when the Indian people and the Government of India demand in one voice remedial measures. At a time when unrest is subsiding and the old tranquility is being restored in India, the Imperial Government will not tolerate any occurrence which is likely to rouse unrest again.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 6TH DECEMBER 1913.

No. 49 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The Jagirdar of Arni Vs. H.M. Gibson.

1. The Hindu, of the 5th December, writes:-"The criminal case in which Mr. H.M. Gibson stood charged with having beaten and kicked that Jagirdar of Arni at the Madras Central Station on the 18th ultimo, was disposed of yesterday by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Bird, convicting the accused and sentencing him to a fine of fifty rupees. We think the Magistrate has taken an extremely lenient view of the conduct of the accused and has utterly failed to realise the gravity of the offence in inflicting the fine................Upon Mr. Gibson's own statement it seems to us perfectly clear that he acted in a ruffian-like manner in beating and kicking a man of the high social position of the Jagirdar of Arni in a public place...........It was, in our opinion, mistaken leniency amounting to miscarriage of justice, which prompted the Chief Presidency Magistrate to deal so lightly with the accused and inflict a fine of fifty rupees only, for an offence of so grave a character, having regard to all the circumstances, as that with which Mr. Gibson was charged and convicted."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 5th December, says:--"An interesting case was decided yesterday when Mr. H.M. Gibson, a European, was fined fifty rupees for having assaulted the Jagirdar of Arni................ Here is a gentleman who, 'in the interests of the public' goes out of his way to the Railway Station and manages to lose his temper so as to kick the Jagirdar of Arni...................We wonder why Mr. Gibson should have lost his temper, when the Jagirdar asked him who he was. Any man would consider it impertinence to be asked him who he was. Any man would consider it impertinence to be asked, point blank, by a stranger whether he was not guilty of a crime--in this case the alleged crime was driving a motor car at an excessive speed. The Jagirdar would be perfectly right in asking 'who the devil are you' to any man who constitutes himself to be a Magistrate. And Mr. Gibson has shown how to wreak his temper on a gentleman and pay a small fine for it. Especially in view of the personage assaulted and the circumstances connected with it, we should consider the fine very inadequate. We hope the small fine will not be an inducement for others to try assaults, in the public's interests, on private individuals."

The Madras Standard, of the 5th December, observes:- "Judgment was delivered yesterday in the case of assault brought by the Jagirdar of Arni against Mr. H.M. Gibson, a skin merchant, with the result that the

accused was convicted and fined Rs.50/-.............. Here we have a man coming to remonstrate with a person of the position of the Jagirdar of Arni for the mere mistake of having motored at some speed and for having resented that interference--certainly uncalled for--the Jagirdar is assaulted at a public place. The accused admits the guilt and yet the Magistrate decides to let him off with a trifling fine...............The punishment which the Magistrate has now passed is likely to make matters worse. It may create the lamentable impression in the minds of the worse sort of foreigners in this country that they can take the law into their own hands in their dealings with even the Indian magnates, if they can afford to spare a small sum of money to pay as fine. We are constrained to say that justice has not been done in this case."

VI. Miscellaneous.

Indians in South Africa.

4. In commenting on the treatment accorded to Indians in South Africa, the South Indian Mail, for the week ending 24th November writes:--"Every huge plantation in South Africa has got a tale to tell that its growth has been built up on the toil and sweat of the laborious sons of India. We could not come to any other conclusion, without committing the grossest injustice, from the telegrams that are reaching us hourly disclosing the horrible atrocities committed by flogging and shooting, that the lives of those who tried for the emancipation of slaves will be perturbed by the cries of our countrymen whose sufferings in the 20th century, under the banner of civilisation, are far more than it could ever have been imagined by the slaves of the Caesarian times. These

pathetic and heart-rending events are a spectacle to the whole world, who, out of mercy, are giving vent to their dislike to such inhuman acts and from the press and platform in England and elsewhere, we hear cudgelling speeches to put down all those atrocities by the interference of the Imperial and the Indian Governments by retaliatory measures ....We hope ere long that the mighty hand of our Indian Government will deal a blow to all these inhuman actions and restore to us that right and privilege which is ours by right of birth as British citizens."

Writing on this subject, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 3rd December, says:--"Perhaps, Mr. Harcourt did not quite realise what he was doing when he refused to receive a deputation of Indian residents in the United Kingdom to discuss the situation in South Africa. It is the worst tactical blunder, which the Colonial Secretary could commit at this juncture. His churlish refusal to receive a deputation will only encourage the South Africans to persist in their attitude of defiance of all obligations to the Empire, and in ill-treating the Indian immigrants. While the Imperial Government are expected to take up a position which would unmistakably tell the colonials that they would no longer be suffered to drag the British flag in the mire and the limit of endurance has been reached, the Colonial Secretary must at least refrain from

committing an indiscretion, if he cannot screw up enough courage to take the initiative in the matter, as he ought to do in virtue of his position."

The Indian National Congress and the South African question.

5. In a leader under the heading "The Decrepit Congress," the West Coast Reformer, of the 30th November, says:--"What strikes us most in the present tornado of South African agitation is the utter helplessness of the Indian National Congress............The Congress as at present constituted and conducted has proved to be an absolutely useless institution when a great national problem is brought to a grave crisis. It has not been serviceable up to this stage in the progress of passive resistance, either to create and concentrate public opinion or to collect the funds that are so vitally required.................... The enemies of the Congress have called it an annual show or circus, and we have all vigorously protested against such ridicule, but the lamentable failure of the Congress to rise equal to the present occasion is too strong a commentary to be ignored. The Congress has been condemned as a superfluous institution since the enlargement and improvement of the Legislative Councils, and we have all tried to prove the necessity of continuing the Congress as an indispensable national organisation, but its gross impotency in this crisis makes its future existence totally indefensible...............The Congress is old enough to be cremated and a new national body must arise out of its ashes."

7. In an article under the heading "Lord Pentland's Duty," the Indian Patriot, of the 4th December, writes:--"We have referred to the oppression that prevails in the Straits on the Tamil coolies, who have been emigrating with clocklike regularity from the Madras districts, allured by the false hopes given by kanganies or recruiting agents. We have again and again brought to the notice of the Government specific instances of ill-treatment of our countrymen; faithful accounts are to be had of the miserable conditions under which they live. We have been crying ourselves hoarse that the responsibility for this dumb South Africa in Penang is peculiar to the Madras Government, for, the coolies that are lured away to slavery and the consequent oppression, are Tamils, the natives of this Presidency................Surely Government cannot afford to see its subjects allured to a distant place, where they are subjected to a kind of treatment which civilization and Christianity would shrink from acknowledging..................
We ask whether the Madras Government does not know that the Tamil coolies in the Straits are subjected to very harsh treatment. If it does not know, it is a pity. If it knows, then it must move. Lord Hardinge has paved the way as regards South Africa; will Lord Pentland follow?....................

Indians in the Straits Settlements.

It is no credit to a Government that it governs people who are willing to put up with the planter's rule in the Straits; it is a downright shame that we should lay claim to have a large public life and yet should not have any organisation to prevent innocents being allured beyond the seas. It is time that we had a Society for the Prevention of Cooly Recruitment to the Straits............... Stories that come from the Straits give a revolting idea, and we cannot understand how any Government could sit idly watching the steamer heavy with its load of emigrants bound for the Straits in the face of such stories. Let at least Government say that it does not move because it knows that the stories are exaggerated. Let Government do something, so that our countrymen may feel that they are not uncared for, and that they have a Government watching over them."

A plea for tariff reform in India.

10. In the course of a leading article commenting on the annual report on the trade of Bombay for 1912-13, the Dhanurdhari, of the 30th November, observes:--The Value of the imports exceeded that of the exports by no less than Rs.4,125 lakhs. Among the imports the value of liquor alone was 59 lakhs as against 54 lakhs in the previous year. How deplorable it is that notwithstanding all our temperance associations, meetings and conferences the liquor traffic is still steadily gaining in bulk! The value of manufactured articles imported is Rs.4,063.03 lakhs. Of this, ~~Rs/~~ Rs.1,452 lakhs represents textile fabrics and 139 lakhs, the value of imported yarn. These figures

exceed those of the previous year by nearly one-fourth. But it is gratifying that leather goods and sundry articles such as toys and buttons show a decrease.................Bombay exported 60 million yards of cloth, but at the same time imported 730 million yards. Does this not show how the Indian market is being steadily flooded with foreign goods? If, in spite of the exhortation of the Swadeshi preachers during the last six or seven years mindless of the trouble it entailed, foreign picegoods should still find a larger demand every year, is it possible to persuade ourselves that our indigenous industries will ever see better days? Political economy gives us only one solution to this problem and that is: "Whatever class of goods is manufactured in this country and whatever does not come under the category of necessaries should be protected against foreign competition by means of a heavy import duty." No industrial expert, however highly paid, can bring about a regeneration of our industries unless this protection is first afforded to Indian manufacturers.

The paper next refers to Mills' views on protection and Freetrade and proceeds to observe:--Mills' views on the need for protection in the earlier stages of industrial advancement in every country have been amply substantiated by the policy followed by the British in the days of the East India Company. At that time, India used to export a large quantity of textile fabrics to England. The English people then resolved, as we ourselves had done, not to purchase foreign goods.

But these resolutions were found to be of no avail. The next step they took was to stop the influx of these goods by means of protective tariffs and at the same time to penalize the use of such goods. This gave such an impetus to their industries that not only did the importation of foreign goods cease, but England began to export her own goods to other countries and immediately followed a stage when according to Mill freetrade was more expedient. Similar were the views of Wordsworth, as can be gathered from his letter to the Times of India in 1880 But when we see that the Government is reluctant to abolish even the excise duty on our cotton goods, is it ever to be expected that they will impose an import duty on foreign goods? It is nevertheless our duty to prevail on the Government to afford us such protection. There is still another course open to us and that is to adhere to the principle of not using foreign piecegoods in deed and not in word alone. Whatever the cost and whatever the quality of Indian goods one should attach a sense of sacredness to the purchase of these and be prepared for a certain amount of self-sacrifice in this respect. Like the points of a mariner's compass, there are only two directions to which our industrial problem points and these are the two we have mentioned above.

11. The Sadhvi, of the 5th December, writes:- The Irrigation expert, Mr. Nethersole, in the course of his evidence before the Public Services

The Public Services Commission.

Commission, proposed that the pay of European officers should be placed on a higher scale than that of Indians doing the same duties. He was not only immediately cross-examined, but examined <u>in camera</u> But by far the better course would have been to demand his reasons for this suggestion in the open examination. It is notorious that most of the European officers have no knowledge of the vernaculars. They are incapable of looking into the records personally. Some there are who are in the habit of bullying even their very capable and responsible subordinates. That such persons should be paid more than the real workers is a suggestion so odd that we are pained to see such scant regard for justice in an official of such high position.

16. In an article under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th November, observes:-

Lord Hardinge and the South African atrocities.

So long as Lord Hardinge is our Viceroy, we need have no apprehension that our main grievances will be treated with indifference without any inquiry. The South African atrocities have caused us sorrow and wounded our dignity. Should this state of things continue for some time more, there is no doubt that unrest and discontent will grow intense in India and create a dangerous situation which will prove disastrous to the honour, reputation and strength of the British Empire. The reports of the heart-rending scenes of cruelty enacted in South Africa are dogmatically denied by the responsible white Government, and Lord Gladstone simply

believes its statement and informs the British Minister accordingly. To us in India, the vehement denial of actual occurrences by officials is not at all new. The perpetrators of the atrocities in South Africa are whites. The Magistrates who are eye-witnesses to these atrocities are also whites. The members of Government who decide the matter by relying on the reports of such Magistrates are likewise whites. The Governor-General who reports to the British Minister the version of this Government is also a white man. Against such odds what can be the fate of the Indians? No language can be too violent and no action can be too severe in the case of the Indians who are mere coolies, without protection or influence, and who are considered to be no better than brutes. As long as the offenders and the witnesses as well as the judges are all whites in any case of false statement or criminal action, who is there to feel for the Indians and to care for finding out the truth? If, at this juncture, Lord Hardinge does not come forward to plead the cause of the Indians and urge the appointment of proper arbitrators for inquiring into this matter and finding out the truth, who else can undertake such a task? We are glad to learn that His Excellency has wired to Lord Crewe urging the necessity of such an inquiry, and we hope that Lord Crewe and the other British Ministers will insist upon the Committee of Arbitrators ascertaining the real condition of the Indians and the means of redressing their grievances.

17. The Indian Advertiser, for October, republishes an article under this heading from the Vaisyamitran, referred to in paragraph 30 of the report for the week ending the 18th October 1913.

The Indians in Sough Africa and the passive resistance movement.

18. In a leader under this heading, the Lokopakari, of the 24th November, expresses astonishment at the apathy of the Indian and the Imperial Governments to the pitiable condition of the Indians in South Africa, and, referring to the cruel and inhuman treatment of the Indians by the whites, makes the following observations:--Such atrocities are unparalleled in the annals of any civilised country and quite unbecoming of the European people who boast of their high refinement and profess to believe in Christianity which inculcates the brotherhood of all men. We cannot believe that the British Government is powerless to prevent these atrocities. Did not the British Government wage war against the Boers before in the interest of the other European colonists in South Africa? Why should it not now come forward to remove the sufferings of the Indians there? The British Government is not pursuing a sound policy in neglecting its duty in this matter, nor is the Government of India justified in keeping quiet without fulfilling its assurances to the Indian emigrants in South Africa. The British people owe the pre-eminence of their Empire to their possession of India, and it

The condition of the Indians in Sough Africa.

does not behove them to treat with indifference the claims of India which is the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown.

Writing on this subject under the heading "the South African troubles," the Swadesamitran, of the 27th November, says:--Since the despatbh of Lord Hardinge's message to the Secretary of State for India, the situation in South Africa has assumed a new aspect. The Union Government has been agitated and is impatient of the interference of the Home Government and the Government of India with its authority. The Secretary of State for India and the Colonial Secretary in England are consulting each other, and it is believed that some sort of solution will be arrived at with regard to these troubles, though we cannot now guess what that solution will be. We do not think that any solution will be possible unless the Home Government interferes in the matter. However much the alleged atrocities in South Africa may be denied by the whites, no confidence will be created in the minds of the Indians, unless and until an independent committee consisting of competent Indians, as proposed by Lord Hardinge, investigates the matter and unveils the truth. Even if the Union Government of South Africa takes exception to the proposal of Lord Hardinge, the Imperial Government should stand firm and carry it out. Though the Imperial Government may think much of the protest of the whites, it must attach greater importance to the consternation and impatience which are growing more and more intense among the Indians with fresh accounts

of the increased sufferings of their helpless brethren in South Africa. The efforts of Lord Hardinge on our behalf at this juncture are universally praised. Considering the onerous responsibility which rests on His Excellency for the maintenance of peace and contentment among the Indians, nothing less than what he has undertaken to do will be commensurate with the gravity of the present situation.

In another article on the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 28th November, says: It is not known what procedure will be adopted by the British Ministers as regards the suggestion of Lord Hardinge. If they should, however, be afraid of the protest of the handful of whites in South Africa and outrage the feelings of the three hundred millions of Indian people, they will be responsible for the evil consequences. If India were an independent country, it would be possible for her to compel South Africa to come to her own terms. But as the Indians are subjects of the British Empire, they are powerless to do so and submit to unutterable suffering and ignominy.

Lord Hardinge and the South African question.

20. The Dravidabhimani, of the 28th November, also writes in a similar strain about the many qualities of head and heart of Lord Hardinge and refers with satisfaction to the wire sent by His Excellency to the Secretary of State for India urging the appointment of a strong committee of competent arbitrators to inquire into the South African question and hopes that His Excellency's intervention will tend towards removing the sufferings of the Indians and securing a satisfactory termination of the present situation.

23. The Andhraprakasika, of the 29th November, in the course of its leader on the "South African question," writes:--"It is a dream to hope that the South Africans will yield any concessions in this matter. It is our belief that nothing satisfactory can come about unless all the officers connected with the administration of India strive hard to remedy this evil. We therefore pray that they will try their best to do good to India prompted by the same sympathetic feelings which have been evinced by His Excellency the Viceroy. In reply to a request of the Indians in England for an interview for the purpose of discussing this subject, the Secretary of State for India has promised it in December. We trust that this promise will soon be fulfilled.

South African question.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 13TH DECEMBER 1913.

No. 50 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

The Police and the Public.

1. The following appears in the Hindu of the 12th December:--"Our correspondence columns to-day show that the Police Sergeants on duty at the Marina often display a lack of consideration for Indians, the consequences of which they do not realise. We hope the Commissioner of Police will bestow some attention to the subject. That it is not Policemen only that are addicted to the vicious habit of dealing roughly with Indian gentlemen, is shown by the incident, related by our correspondents, which happened in the Chepauk grounds yesterday where the cricket match took place. A European Professor of the Presidency College ought surely to have known better than to have behaved in the offensive manner he did to an Indian Professor of the Engineering College. It is a matter to be thankful for that he had the grace to apologise for his conduct when it was pointed out to him that the person whom he had affronted was a member of the same Educational Service though an Indian. It is

expected of a Professor of the Presidency College, and a European, that he would set a shining example in manners and good breeding especially in places where a large concourse of students and the general public are assembled. We have but lately heard a well-intentioned homily in the University Convocation Address on the need for young men to cultivate good manners. It is but meet that they should be given better examples to regulate their conduct by, than those, which, as in the present case, they come across in their collegiate career."

Vernacular Papers.

The Jagirdar of Arni and Mr. Gibson.

6. Referring to the case in which one Mr. H.M.Gibson was charged with having beaten and kicked the Jagirdar of Arni on the platform of the Madras Central Station, and was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs.50/- by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, the Swadesamitran, of the 8th December, observes:-We think the Magistrate has taken an extremely lenient view of the conduct of the accused in this case, especially in the face of the fact that the accused admitted in his statement that he beat and kicked the jagirdar. The Indians will surely regard the offence of Mr. Gibson as a very grave one, considering the high social position of the Jagirdar of Arni. If the accused in this case were an Indian and the aggrieved party a European, we are sure the punishment would have been more severe than a fine of Rs.50/- First of all, Mr. Gibson should not have

gone to the jagirdar and asked him whether it was he who was driving the car so fast. If such a question had been put to a European, he would have given the same reply that the jagirdar is alleged to have given. If Mr. Gibson says he did this in the interests of the public, it would have been enough if he had complained to the Police. As the servants of the jagirdar are said to have been present when he was assaulted by Mr. Gibson, a serious riot would surely have occurred, had it not been for the fact that the train was about to move away. On the whole, it goes without saying that the punishment inflicted in this case is a very light one.

In this connection we cannot but remark that in the majority of cases brought by Indians against Europeans, the accused are almost always given very light punishments. It was only the other day that a European Engineer in Calcutta got off with a fine of Rs.150 for having thrashed his Indian servant so severely as to cause his death. It is regrettable indeed that in cases of this kind the European Magistrates do not pay any attention to the loss of dignity, bodily injury or even the loss of life caused to the Indians. It will be some consolation if these Magistrates are as lenient in similar cases brought by Europeans against Indians. But unfortunately it is not so. A European accused almost always gets a lenient punishment, while an Indian accused under similar circumstances is punished most severely. This

naturally creates an impression in the public mind that justice is not being administered impartially and that the law operates in one way on the European and in quite another way on the Indian. We need not say that this is not conducive to the growth of a friendly feeling between the Indians and the Europeans.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 8th December, also comments upon this case in the same strain.

7. The Andhraprakasika, of the 6th December, in a leaderette headed "Is it administration of justice", remarks that the punishment in the Arni jagirdar's case is ridiculously light. Such punishments in cases where Europeans are the accused, though common in the North, are unprecedented, observes the paper, in this Presidency. It goes on to say that on the interpellation of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerji in the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Government have resolved to move the High Court for a revision of the sentence in a similar case, and suggests a similar course to be followed by the leaders in this Presidency should such cases of injustice multiply here.

Is it administration of justice?

13. The Swadesamitran, of the 29th November, says:- The Public Service Commission has been holding its sittings at Delhi and enquiring about the Public Works Medical and Educational Departments. The witnesses examined were almost wholly Europeans and they pleaded only for the increase of the salaries, pensions and other allowances of the European officials serving in these departments. There was no special enquiry about giving higher appointments to Indians in these departments

The Public Service Commission at Delhi.

It is the statement of Mr. Montagu in August last that the Civil Servants in India were receiving inadequate salaries that has perhaps emboldened the English officials in other departments also to plead for an enhancement of their salaries and pensions. The fact cannot be ignored that in no other country in the world are the officials paid such high salaries as the European officials in India. All these high salaries are paid out of the money collected from the pockets of the Indians, and it is therefore easy for the Secretary of State for India to distribute this money among his countrymen as he pleases. The pecuniary loss suffered by India consequent upon the large amounts of salaries and pensions paid to the foreign officials in this country is already being felt as a heavy burden and an increase of these salaries will only enhance the weight of this burden still further.

The ill-treatment of the Indians.

14. The Andhraprakasika, of the 10th December, in its leader headed "How to arrest the growth" of the ill-treatment of the Indians in India and elsewhere, quotes a number of instances thereof, and concludes with a suggestion, that His Excellency the Governor and the members of his executive and Legislative Councils should take prompt steps to punish officers that overstep the bounds of justice as the only means to arrest the growth of this evil and earn the gratitude of people entrusted to their care.

VI. Miscellaneous.

Indians in the colonies.

17. The Desabhimani, of the 26th November, comments, as follows, in English upon the condition of

Indians in the Colonies:--"The burning question of the present time is the condition of our Indian brethren in South Africa. It is both a national and an Imperial question, in that it affects the status of Indians among the civilized nations of the earth and also their relation as a unit of the British Empire. The treatment accorded to them in South in South Africa and in the colonies of Australia, Canada and the New Zealand openly defies our status as a civilised nation and the right of the Imperial Government as a controlling authority. It is, therefore, a most momentous question involving as it does our national rights and the power and prestige of the Imperial Parliament.

"Since the passing of the abnoxious Immigration Regulation Act by the South African Union Parliament, the Indians there have been subjected to an increasingly shameful and humiliating treatment, denying to them not only the rights of citizenship but even of humanity, and the telegrams in the daily newspapers bring to us most harrowing tales of the scandalous and barbarous treatment meted out to them with a vengeance. In Natal, a £3 capitation tax is imposed upon all Indians, male or female, whatever may be their position in life, and the failure to pay it, even though due to extreme poverty, is visited with imprisonment and hard labour. Their immigration into South Africa, except under indenture, is practically put a stop to and even the privilege of entry to a limited number of educated Indians annually, secured by the intervention of our Indian Government, is hedged round with conditions and limitations which almost nullify the so-called privilege.

The position of the resident Indians, who entered the Union otherwise than under indenture, has to some extent been rendered tolerable through the kind endeavours of our Supreme Government in the matter of domicile and right of appeal to the Courts on points of law; but the condition of the indentured Indians who form the bulk of the Indian population, both before and after the expiry of the period of indenture, is little better than slavery. They are treated not as citizens but as helots. Their condition in all the colonies at the present time has reached an acute stage especially in South Africa. In Australia and New Zealand new laws were passed which make the entry of Indians conditional upon their ability to pass an examination in a European language which they may not understand and thus they are barred out from those two colonies. In South Africa, to the already existing disabilities, another has now been added by a judgment of the High Court, which declares that the wives of Indians, even if sole wives, are not to be treated as wives under the Union law, if the marriage took place under rites which allow polygamous unions. In Canada, though some arrangement is said to have been come to with the Canadian Government by our Viceroy for the admission of Indians who hold special permits from our Government, they are still refused admission. There, as in South Africa, even Indians domiciled under the law of the land, are not allowed to bring their wives and children into the country except by an unbroken voyage from India, which in the case of Canada is impossible as there is no direct steamship communication between the two countries.

"To make our indignation at such a treatment of our brethren felt by the various colonial authorities, we urged upon our Indian Government to adopt retaliatory measures and in response thereto, our Government forbade indentured emigration to Natal by an Act passed in 1911. We now urge that the Act may be extended to all the other colonies as well; and we further urge that, as suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, our redoubtable champion, the colonials should be debarred from competing for the Indian Service and that South African coal should not be purchased for Indian vessels. We are glad that in this national struggle we have the fullest sympathy of our Government and the English people, and we trust that all prompt and adequate measures will be adopted to largely mitigate, if not to wholly put an end to, the disabilities and privations to which our brethren in the colonies are now subjected."

Referring to the reply of Lord Crewe to the deputation of Indians that recently waited on his Lordship to discuss about the present condition of Indians in South Africa, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd December, observes:--Though the pronouncement of Lord Crewe did not contain any definite statement, it was generally sympathetic. The deputation asked for five things: the release of the strikers and the passive resisters; the removal of the racial bar; the abolition of the poll-tax; the institution of an enquiry into the present troubles; and the adoption of such measures as would secure to the Indians the right of free access to the colonies. As regards the fist request of the deputation that the passive resisters might be released, no specific reply was elicited from Lord Crewe who, however, remarked that, though the South African Ministers desired that the laws of

the Union Government should be administered with justice and sympathy, the stupidity and racial prejudice of the minor officials prevented this object of the Ministers being carried out. This situation could have been avoided if the British Ministers had, at the time of granting self-government to South Africa, retained in their hands sufficient powers of supervision. Regarding the general question of the restrictions imposed by the South Africans on Indian immigration, Lord Crewe, while admitting the right of the Indians to enter any part of British Empire, pointed out that there was no way of getting over the fact that the whites in South Africa were strongly opposed to allowing free access to other people into their country. When the colonial whites persist in imposing restrictions on the free entry of Indians into their country, cannot similar restrictions be imposed upon these whites entering India? If there is to be one rule for the Indians and another for the colonial whites, what is then the advantage of both of them being the subjects of the same Sovereign? Lord Crewe was afraid that the South African Government might not agree to the proposal that the Indians in South Africa should also be represented on the committee to be appointed to inquire into the present situation. If the whites refuse to allow Indians to be their colleagues on this committee of enquiry, that is itself a sufficient proof of the fact that they have been treating the Indians most cruelly.

The British Empire and the Indians.

18. The Swadesamitran, of the 29th November, comments as follows upon the statement of Lord Haldane,

made at a meeting in London, that the common purpose animating England and her colonies was rapidly growing:--We are at a loss to know what is meant by this statement. The colonies carry on their administration according to their own wishes, against which the mother country does not venture to say anything for fear that the integrity of the Empire would be impaired thereby. When the colonies have their own ways of doing things and the mother country is unable to interfere, how can it be said that a common purpose animates the mother country and the colonies and how can it be said to be growing? The glory of the British Empire is dependent upon India and yet British Ministers sit quiet when India is woe-stricken and fuming with rage. The South African whites avow audaciously that they would continue to harass the Indians. But the British Ministers are merely begging for favours at the hands of the colonists and are powerless to compel them to act according to justice and equity. Most of the whites in South Africa are the Boers who astonished England by their bold fighting. The British granted self-government to these people in a moment of weakness, without much forethought, and now blink at their own inability to have an effective control over them. The Imperial Government ought to have retained sufficient powers of supervision in its own hands at the very time when it granted self-government to the Boers. Having failed to do so, it has now left the Indian Government and the South African Union to settle their differences among themselves. Is this a sign of the growth of a common purpose?

19. The Swadesamitran, of the 4th December, comments as follows upon the Blue-book issued in London in connection with the recent events in South Africa:--This publication makes it clear that Lord Gladstone is actuated more by a partiality for the Union Government than by any anxiety to obtain justice for the Indians. He says that the Indians cannot hope for any concession at the hands of the Union Government unless they give up their method of passive resistance and become submissive. But how can they be expected to become submissive, as long as they are treated with unbearable cruelty by the Union Government? Even Mr. Harcourt favours only the whites in South Africa and comes down upon the Indians for continuing the policy of passive resistance. There is, however, one redeeming feature in this Blue-book and that is the correspondence between Lord Hardinge and the Secretary of State, which clearly brings out the anxiety and sympathy evinced by our beloved Viceroy in the matter of the sufferings our brethren are undergoing in South Africa.

The condition of the Indians in South Africa.

20. The Andhraprakasika, of the 6th December, in its leader, writes:- Of late a deputation of some Indians in England desirous of a settlement of the South African question, waited on Lord Crewe. His attitude towards this question seems to have considerably improved now. When the question was once moved in the House of Lords, he observed that the Imperial

Lord Crewe and South Africa.

Government could not interfere with the internal administration of self-governing colonies, who must be at liberty to do what they choose. He has, this time, expressed himself in greater sympathy with the suffering Indians of South Africa, but does not commit himself to any definite line of action to redress their grievances. The need for instituting an enquiry into the South African affairs has been recognised, and it goes without saying that it is unsafe to leave the enquiry entirely into the hands of the unsympathetic South African authorities. It is highly advisable that the Indian Government as well as the Imperial Government that are now in full sympathy with the suffering of their Indian subjects in South Africa should move in the matter.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 20TH DECEMBER 1913.

No. 51 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

The Mounted Sergeant at the Madras Beach.

8. The Swadesamitran, of the 13th December, reports the rude behaviour of a Mounted European Sergeant, who is said to have insisted on an Ayyangar Brahman sitting on a bench near the bandstand at the beach, leaving the place immediately for not having a head dress and to have actually driven his horse after the poor Brahman until he crossed the bridge on the Cooum, and observes:--Such behaviour on the part of the Mounted Sergeants on duty at the beach and elsewhere has of late become a frequent occurrence. Our readers could not have forgotten a similar case which occurred in the same place last year when a fruit-seller was the victim. We hope the Commissioner of Police will bestow his attention on this matter and prevent the recurrence of such events.

(b) Courts.

The Jagirdar of Arni and Mr. Gibson.

11. The Lokopakari, of the 8th December, reproduces the substance of the comments of the Swadesamitran of the 8th idem on this subject, referred to in paragraph

6 of the report for the week ending 13th December 1913.

The Arni Jagirdar and Mr. Gibson.

Dramatising the incident of Arni Jagirdar and Mr. Gibson, the Sasilekha, of the 12th December, writes:- Enter a gentleman--You need not cry aloud nor weep. This matter has reached the ear of His Excellency Lord Pentland, having been reported in the Hindu, the Standard and the Patriot. No Englishman of the type of Mr. Gibson can box or kick the Indians any more during the rule of His Excellency Lord Pentland. Fortunately we have no Governor like Lord Gladstone over us; we live in Madras and not in South Africa.

(k) general.

The impartial attitude of the Bengal Government.

15. Referring to the case in which a European Engineer was fined Rs.150/- by the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Barackpur for having kicked a native painter employed in the Alexandra Jute Mills and caused his death, the Lokopakari, of the 8th December, observes:--In reply to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea in the Bengal Legislative Council in connection with this case, it was stated on behalf of the Government that a motion will be made in the High Court to enhance the sentence passed by the lower court. A light sentence has been passed by the Magistrate in this case only because the accused happened to be a European and the victim an Indian. If it were vice versa, the Anglo-Indian papers would have raised a hue and cry. But Lord Carmichael has gained a reputation for being an impartial

administrator and his interference in this case will only increase the esteem in which he is held by the people.

VI. Miscellaneous.

25. In a leader on this subject, the Dokopakari, of the 8th December, says:--The speech of the Viceroy at Madras has irritated the South African Government and we are not surprised at this. It has now become an open secret, both in India and England, that the South African Government is treating the Indians in the most uncivilised manner. The whites say that it is the Indians who transgress the law and bring about all their troubles. But we would ask whether there has been any occasion before this when the Indians transgressed the law. If they do so now, it is because certain provisions of it are derogatory to the Indian community as a whole. The Indians have been migrating to South Africa from a very long time and they have all along continued to be loyal. On a recent occasion, there was a quarrel between the Indians and the Bolice in which eight of the former were shot dead and many others were seriously wounded. Is it not necessary to make an enquiry as to who were the cause of this disturbance? Why should the Union Government refuse to appoint a committee to enquire into this and similar events? This itself shows that it is the Union Government that is acting unjustly.

The condition of Indians in South Africa.

In writing on the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 12th December, observes:--News has been received that the South African Government has agreed to appoint a committee to enquire about the cruel treatment of the Indians by the whites in the Transvaal. The constitution of this committee has not yet been announced. It is very necessary that a member nominated by the Government of India, a representative of the British Government and a representative of the Indians in the Transvaal should be on this Committee. If, on the other hand, the committee consists only of the South African whites, its decision will not give any satisfaction to the Indians. We hope the British government will impress this fact on the Union Government. Heart-rending news is being received every day from our brethren in South Africa. Every mine and every plantation is being declared to be a jail and the Indians striking work are being imprisoned therein. The Police prevent the members of the Natal Association from supplying food to the Indian prisoners. So hundreds of Indian prisoners are really starving. There is no way of bringing to light the atrocities committed inside the mines and plantations. Telegrams were hitherto being received about the unjust acts committed in South Africa. Hereafter no news can be expected from there, even though the Indians may die, be beaten or starved, or undergo any other hardship. So this committee should be appointed without the least delay.

Continuing its comments upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 13th December, writes:-We learn from a telegram received yesterday that Sir William Solomon, Mr. Essaler, K.C., and Colonel Wylie of Natal are the members of the commission of inquiry appointed by the Union Government. None of these three have any connection with either the Government of India or the British Government and there is no Indian member on this commission. The commission is asked to inquire into and report on the disturbances in connection with the strike of the Indians, the causes that led to the strike disturbances, the amount of force used for the suppression of the strike, the necessity for the use of such force and on any acts of violence alleged to have been committed upon prisoners sentenced in connection with the strike, ~~the necessity for the~~ and to make recommendations in respect of any of the above matters. Both the constitution of this commission and the matters referred to it for inquiry will cause entire disappointment in India. Even the Indians in South Africa will feel that they can derive no benefit from the inquiry of this commission. General Botha could well have refused to hold an inquiry instead of appointing such a commission. The personnel of this commission shows that the views recently expressed both by Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe have been completely ignored by the Union Government. Even the words of Mr. Harcourt, the Secretary for the Colonies, have now been belied.

So there is no doubt that this commission has been appointed simply to make a show of an inquiry and that the Union Government does not care in the least for the Imperial Government or the Government of India. This is nothing but an attempt to pacify those who complain of cruelties being committed in South Africa.

The Present action of the Union Government is evidently the result of the partiality shown by the British Ministers and the British public towards the whites in South Africa. The British Ministers have been evincing only a step-motherly affection for the Indians. While the Indians are being beaten, shot, imprisoned and starved and suffering unbearable hardships and the whites are the cause of all this, the fact that the latter should themselves hold an inquiry looks more like a clever trick to dupe the Indians and the world, considering them to be fools, than an attempt to discover the truth and do justice. The Indians will not have the least confidence in the inquiry conducted by this commission. We do not know how far the news wired by Reuter that the appointment of this commission has given satisfaction in England is true. How can it give satisfaction to Lord Ampthill and other well-wishers of India? Lord Hardinge distinctly stated that a commission in which there are no Indian representatives will serve no useful purpose. Lord Crewe also observed that, though the Union Government might not agree to the inclusion of Indians in the commission of inquiry,

care should be taken to see that neither racial nor individual arrogance operated as an impediment to an impartial inquiry, and added that the scope of this inquiry should not be restricted to recent events alone, but should cover the general condition of the Indians in the colonies. The words of both these statesmen have been flouted by the Union Government. How will this be justifiable in the eyes of the world and how can the heartburning of the Indians be appeased thereby?

The Lokopakari, of the 15th December, also expresses its dissatisfaction at the constitution and scope of the commission of inquiry appointed by the Union Government and observes:- We feel sure that this commission will not act against the interests of the Union Government, and as all the witnesses to be examined by the commission will be the officials in South Africa, all the popular leaders being in jail, the Indians cannot expect their grievances to be redressed as a result of this inquiry. Therefore the question of alleviating the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa should be taken up for consideration at the next meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council. There is no use in our beloved Viceroy and the popular leaders awaiting the conclusion of the inquiry by this commission to take any further action regarding the condition of the Indians in South Africa. It is very necessary to prevent the migration of Indians to South Africa. The Indians who have already settled in South Africa, are being imprisoned and otherwise teased by the Union Government, only with the idea that they can

thereby be coerced to act as it wishes. If the Imperial Government does not come forward to check the course adoptedby the Union Government, it will give room to the impression that the former is colluding with the latter in the matter of teasing the Indians. The people throughout India are now disgusted with the tyrannical rule of the South African Government. Women and even the Native Chiefs are getting enraged at the treatment meted out to their countrymen in South Africa. It is the duty of the Imperial Government to check the growth of a feeling of pain and disgust on the part of thirty crores of Indians. It is not desirable that the existing feeling should grow more intense and we hope the Imperial Government will note this.

26. The Swadesamitran, of the 10th December, writes:

The Indians in India and abroad.

Many among the civilised races of the world have a very low idea of the Indians. It is only the Eastern races like the Japanese, who originally acquired their religion and civilization from India, that have a sympathy for the Indians. British colonies like Africa and Canada, having no idea whatever of the ancient civilisation and culture of the Indians, entertain a low opinion of the latter, judging of them only from their present condition. The whites in the world know the Indians only as coolies and thinking that the Indians all over the world are only of this type, deem them to be no better than cattle. If the whites in any part of the world are in need of labourers, they send for them from India. There are now nearly ten lakhs of Indians employed as labourers or engaged in petty

industries in the British Colonies, without the right of having any secular, moral or religious instruction. No wonder therefore that the whites in the world judge of the condition of the thirty crores of Indians from the standard of those in the Colonies. There is also another reason for this misconception. India is regarded only as a dependency of Britain, and the Indians, instead of being given equal treatment with the British, are allowed to occupy only subordinate positions to the British. When they are thus treated with scant courtesy in their own country and by their own Government, how can the foreign countries be expected to have a better idea of the Indians?

British Empire and Indian subjects.

29. In the course of a leader headed "British Empire and the Indian subjects," the Sasilekha, of the 16th December, observes:-Regarding the steps that the Imperial Government should take in connection with the treatment of Indians in South Africa, various persons may suggest various ways; but His Majesty the King-Emperor and his ministry must carefully consider the matter and try to confer on the Indians in the Empire the rights enjoyed by their white subjects.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 27TH DECEMBER 1913.

No. 52 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The Jagirdar of Arni and Mr. Gibson.

1. The Gnanabhanu, for December, comments upon this subject in the same strain as the Swadesamitran of Madras, of 8th December, referred to in paragraph 6 of the report for the week ending 13th December.

(k) General.

Indians and the Educational Service.

6. The Vaisyamitran, of the 12th December, expresses its surprise at the statement of Mr. Sharp before the Public Services commission at Delhi that, except in matters of salary, leave and work, there is practically no difference between the Imperial and the Provincial Educational Services, and observes:-This statement is quite true; for what is there left to create any difference between the two services, if salary, leave and work are left out of consideration. But the difference under these three heads is so clear and wide that one will be justified in calling these services as European and Indian and not as Imperial and Provincial. The nominations made to these

services from time to time clearly show that the Imperial Service is intended only for the Europeans and the Provincial Service for the Indians. The difference in salary between the two services is not so small as to be entirely ignored. In the Imperial Service the starting salary is Rs.500/- and there are prospects of promotion up to Rs.2,500; while the Provincial Service starts only with Rs.200 and ends with Rs.700. In addition to this, there are certain advantages enjoyed by the members of the Imperial Service which are denied to those of the Provincial Service. For example, the appointments in the Imperial Service are all graded, with substantial annual increments and a member of this service is given an extra allowance of Rs.100/-, if his salary does not exceed Rs.1,000 even after 15 years of service. Neither of these concessions are allowed to those in the Provincial Service. As for leave, a member of the Imperial Service is eligible for furlough and special leave with allowances for six years before he retires, while a member of the Provincial Service is not entitled to furlough for more than two years. Then again Europeans are eligible for furlough for a ~~fee~~ fourth part of their period of Service; but an Indian has to complete ten years of service to be eligible for one year's furlough and has to wait for eight years before he becomes eligible for another year's furlough. The Europeans are given half pay throughout the period of their leave, while the Indians are given this half pay only for the first

fifteen months of their leave and quarter pay for the remaining period. Even in the matter of work, there is a marked difference. A European Professor in a college works only for 15 hours a week and at times this dwindles down to 12 hours; but an Indian Professor is obliged to turn out at least eighteen hours' work every week.

Indians and the higher appointments.

7. In commenting upon the proceedings of the Public services Commission, a Correspondent, of the Lokamitran, for February, says;- The evidence of Englishmen before the Commission clearly shows that they are not for giving higher appointments to the Indians. But I would ask whether the words of our beloved queen Victoria, that appointments in this country would be distributed impartially among all her subjects, have lost their value now. Why are the present-day Englishmen unwilling to fulfil this promise of our late Queen? There can only be two reasons for ir. Either the Queen should have made this statement with a fraudulent motive, just to tide over the effects of the sepoy mutiny, or the Englishmen of the present day should be unwilling to carry out this promise owing to jealousy. No sane man will believe the first reason. The way in which the Englishmen who came to India at the time of Queen Victoria conducted themselves towards the people is sufficient proof of the fact that the words of the late Queen came out from her heart. So the second reason alone should hold good. If, therefore, the authorities in England act upon the evidence of the Englishmen, they will be belying the sacred promise of our late Queen to her

Indian subjects and creating dissatisfaction in the minds of the Indians.

The objections raised by Anglo-Indians to higher appointments being given to Indians are based upon three grounds:--

1. The Indians have no idea whatever of official responsibility.

2. They do not act boldly in times of disturbance.

3. They have not the capacity to take the initiative in any affair.

Now let us examine these three grounds one by one. The first ground cannot hold water, for we have never been asking for higher appointments being given to Indians, who do not realise the responsibility of their work. It cannot be that, among 17 crores of men in India, there are not even a few who are fully qualified to hold the higher appointments. As regards the second ground, the English officials have their revolvers ready the moment any disturbance occurs, while the Indian officials in the same position try to appease the people, as they are fully conversant with their language and habits. Does this show want of courage on the part of the latter? That the foolhardy courage of the English officials will only tend to increase the disturbances instead of suppressing them was clearly illustrated during the recent Mohurrum riots at Coimbatore. Such courage is

necessary only for the soldier on the field of war and not for officials, who have to govern the people by winning their confidence. The third ground is, no doubt, true. But how far are the Indian officials permitted to take the initiative in any affair? If these officials take any steps on their own initiative, the English men above them come down upon them for having done so without their permission. If an English official commits a mistake, which may cost him his appointment, he immediately runs up to England and is able to protect his interests by seeking the help of the members of Parliament there. Who is there to help the Indians like this?

In commenting upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th December, observes:- The Indians are never given the higher appointments even in the Salt and Abkari Department. No special training or knowledge is necessary for holding a higher appointment in this department. It has been for a long time a close preserve for Europeans and Eurasians and it is still so. Can it be said that when there are Indians who can successfully discharge the duties of a Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy or Governor, there are not Indians who are qualified to hold the higher appointments in this department? We have a right to claim that all the four Deputy Commissioners in this department should be Indians and is it too much to ask that one of them should be an Indian?

VI. Miscellaneous.

11. The Swadesamitran, of the 18th December, writes:-

The condition of Indians in South Africa.

We learn that Mr. Asquith had recently a long interview with His Majesty, in the course of which he is reported to have discussed about the present condition of Indians in South Africa and its effect upon India. Though we have no definite information about the points referred to in this interview, we believe he would have given His Majesty a clear idea of the present tension of feeling among all classes of people in India, from the Ruling Princes down to the ordinary masses, about the South African situation. When self-Government was granted to South Africa, the power to annul any colonial law, which looks unfair in the eyes of His Majesty, has been reserved by him. Our beloved King should now exercise this power and annul the Emigration Act. If this is not possible, the system of sending indentured labourers to the colonies should be abolished altogether.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 18th December, suggests the entire abolition of the system of indentured labour as the only remedy for the ill-treatment of Indians by the whites in the colonies.

The Gnanabhanu, for December, deplores the pitiable condition of the Indians in South Africa and the way in which they are treated by the whites there and declares that there is no hope of redemption from this misery unless the British Government interferes on behalf of the Indians.

13. The Lokamitran, for February, writes:- Many of our readers might have noted the words "specially made for India% on the foreign articles imported into this country. But we doubt if any one has spent a thought over what this phrase means. Does it mean that the European merchants are so very solicitous for the welfare of the Indians that they ~~and~~ are sending out special articles for the latter, or does it mean that they have such a low opinion of India that they think they can foist anything upon her? Surely it is the latter and every sane man will admit this. But, in one respect, it is true that the European merchants are sending certain articles specially for India. For, those rejected articles which do not find any sale elsewhere are always sent to India. This clearly shows that the European merchants have understood that the Indians are incapable of doing anything and have therefore to depend for every article upon foreigners.

The tactics of the European merchants.

Then again we find the phrase "specially packed for India" on certain articles. What can this signify? Is it that the articles sent to India are more safely packed than those sent to other countries? We can never believe it even in our dreams.

We also meet with the phrase "specially prepared to wear Indian climate." Many of us take this to be true, as they believe that because the

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24-13/RH